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Sociology and Social Research . . .

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

School Situations in Behavior Studies . . . 423

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD and ELEANOR S. BOLL

Evaluation of Sociology Teaching 429

HERBERT D. LAMSON

The Farmers Union Cooperatives 435

WILLIAM P. TUCKER

Neuropsychiatric Casualties from Rural

Areas 446

HERMAN LANTZ

The Human Element in Industry 450

EDWARD J. REDMON

The Superimposed Leader 454

DAVID F. DEMARCHE

Methods of Influencing People 458

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

Races and Culture 466

Social Welfare 489

Social Theory 473

Social Fiction 497

VOL. 31

JULY-AUGUST

No. 6

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.00

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Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.00

SINGLE COPIES, 60¢

Entered as second-class matter March 31, 1936, at the post office at Los Angeles,
California, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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PUBLISHED BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS
3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

July-August, 1947

SCHOOL SITUATIONS IN BEHAVIOR STUDIES: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

JAMES H. S. BOSSARD AND ELEANOR S. BOLL

The William T. Carter Foundation

University of Pennsylvania

● It is customary to think of the school primarily as an agency in the formal education of the child, with emphasis chiefly upon problems of curriculum, equipment, and pedagogy. Consideration of the role of the school in the social development of the child is often secondary and incidental, despite the obvious fact that school life comprehends a complex of social situations in which children live, compete, perform, develop attitudes, form response patterns, fail and succeed in the process of getting along in the world. More recent studies of child behavior have come to recognize this phase of the school's importance.

The present article is presented primarily as a methodological note to the scientific study of school situations in relation to the development of behavior patterns, although it is hoped that the by-products in its present use may also have some value. The method used is that of autobiographical analysis.

1. The use of autobiographical material in the study of behavior has been discussed by Allport, Krueger, Burr, Murchison and others,¹ and they found these differences in rules and values that prepared them for participation in subsequent secondary groups. First, there was no such strong incentive to accepting a new classmate as there is to accepting a new family member. One could just as easily leave him alone. Augustus Long speaks of such treatment of a classmate of his, a boy who was branded as rough and uncouth, but whose loneliness remained to haunt Long. He wrote that few things in life had shamed him so much, in the remembering, as his treatment of that boy.² Second, there was no such gratuitous conferring of roles as comes frequently in family life. At school, roles were earned realistically from observable behavior. Charles

¹ Gordon W. Allport, *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1942). This report contains an extended bibliography.

² Augustus White Long, *Son of Carolina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1939), pp. 93-95.

Sherrill, one-time Ambassador to Turkey, for instance, still wore kilts and long curls when he started to school. This, of course, made him a "sissy." He offered to fight to prove that he was a man, but fighting did not happen to be the way to prestige in that class. A man was one who kissed girls at recess time. Sherrill recognized that the rules for his success were new ones now, laid down by his classmates. He had never kissed a girl, but he did it and thus became a man among men, though he had his mouth washed out by the teacher.³ Third, once having a recognized role, one's status depended upon the value of that role in the eyes of the class, and this was often strikingly different from values previously taken for granted at home. Marianne Oswald, when starting school, had a very deep voice, cultivated because her parents had wanted her to be a boy. Naturally, the girl was proud of tomboy qualities. Nevertheless, she learned through pinches and name-calling that the boys in her class had no high opinion of deep-voiced, competitive tomboys. What they liked was shrill and frail femininity. The role with which she strove for success at home was destined to make her a social failure at school.⁴

This status-value of a certain role in a certain school created problems especially among children who were half-grown and changing from one school to another. Some of them found such a change that they could not fit into a role that would satisfy their former estimate of themselves. Lady Eleanor Smith describes her complete unhappiness at a school where she, an intellectual of a freely unconventional kind, found herself in a group of pious little prigs. She never could win a worthy status for herself at that school because she would not be a prig. Relief from her plight came only when she changed to another school where she did not have to be convention bound to be a proper person.⁵ Brander Matthews mentioned this same problem in a school where only a fighting bully could achieve recognition. He did not rebel as did Lady Eleanor Smith. He did a great deal of fighting in order to gain prestige, but the role was abhorrent to him, and he finally escaped from the school.⁶

One further difficulty in gaining a place was that in many cases it had to be acquired in the face of organized bullying. With the boys this was

³ Charles H. Sherrill, *My Story Book* (privately published, 1937), pp. 9-10.

⁴ Marianne Oswald, *One Small Voice* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1945), pp. 12-15.

⁵ Lady Eleanor Smith, *Life's a Circus* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1940), pp. 72-81.

⁶ Brander Matthews, *These Many Years* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), pp. 55-57.

chiefly physical; with the girls, psychological. For both it required great tenacity to escape humiliation.

This process of surviving and fitting in had to be met concurrently with learning the three R's, and was of far greater importance to the children. Under compulsory education a child cannot retreat from this situation except psychologically; nor in the public school system can it be solved by a free choice of schools. On the other hand, present-day mobility forces many children to face this particular situation many times during their individual school careers.

2. A second school situation in the autobiographies emerged when, in the process of living together at school, certain differences in background became apparent. Classmates then began to be known as children of their parents. Carl Schleich wrote that at school he was reputed to be one of a gang of roughnecks. But there was a certain "zone of inviolable respect" between him and his schoolmasters because most of them were entertained at his parents' parties. At these same events his friends were permitted to be present and watch. Roughneck or not, Carl was obviously someone to command respect.⁷ Lady Eleanor knew that her behavior at a school would have forced her expulsion had not her father been lord chancellor.⁸ At the other extreme, Marianne Oswald, who went through kindergarten with Kiki, the daughter of the family wash-woman, as her best friend, found that Kiki could not go to private school with her even by paying tuition.⁹ Henry Sedgwick told of pranks played upon a classmate whose family standards of linen-changing were quite different from those of most of the class. The date would be secretly marked in pencil upon the boy's collar. The class would then watch to see how many days later this mark would still appear.¹⁰ Race and color were also a part of this situation. Because Vamberry was a Jewish boy, his teacher mocked him and advised him to stop school, for he would be better off as a kosher butcher. This, Vamberry said, was the prevailing tone at the school.¹¹ And John Franklin Carter revealed a similar situation from the other side of the window. He wrote that in his school there were a few Negro and Jewish children; that no one thought any-

⁷ Carl Ludwig Schleich, *Those Were Good Days!* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1936), translated by Bernard Miall, p. 76.

⁸ Smith, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Oswald, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Henry Dwight Sedgwick, *Memoirs of an Epicurean* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company), p. 54.

¹¹ Arminius Vamberry, *The Story of My Struggles* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1904), pp. 47-48.

thing about it. But he added: "Father and Mother let us play with them all, regardless, but never encouraged us to invite them into the house."¹² This was, no doubt, a satisfactory solution for little Carters, but the uninvited also had their problems to solve. It is reasonable to suppose that the increased size of modern schools and the mixed population of most school districts have added to the number and, perhaps, intensity of such situations.

3. A third situation of significance in the autobiographies was that of the immigrant boy entering an American school. The new element in this situation was the immigrant's very real lack of techniques with which to find his way into the group. John Cournos, telling of his own experience, mentioned his three chief handicaps. His inexperience with the language set him back several grades; his "sylvan past" incapacitated him in the presence of crowds of children; his lack of familiarity with the customs of his classmates in play and his desire to adopt them got him into trouble. He frankly did not know such things as under what conditions it was comradely to call a boy a son-of-a-bitch, and when it was insulting.¹³ This lack of techniques must characterize the school situations not only of immigrant children but also of second- and third-generation youngsters who have lived within their parents' culture circles and then been moved into a big city school.

4. Another situation developed in the life histories was that of the protectively reared and rather sensitive child being awakened to certain crudities of life as they will appear in school. Edgar Lee Masters loathed his first days at school. He wrote: "The schoolroom had no proper ventilation, the air that we breathed was full of offense. The toilets were foul beyond description; the first day at school I learned all the obscene words that were then current."¹⁴ John Carter's sensibilities were attacked in the same way. "The school," he said, "was, physically, a dreadfully depressing place. The sanitary arrangements were neglected and the boys' room was distinguished by a large pool in the center of the asphalt floor while the traditional method of attending to the needs of nature was to stand on the seat and contribute to the little lake. There was a certain amount of competition in this line and altogether it was a

¹² John Franklin Carter, *The Rectory Family* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1937), pp. 154-56.

¹³ John Cournos, *Autobiography* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), pp. 69-71.

¹⁴ Edgar Lee Masters, *Across Spoon River* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936), pp. 26-27.

liberal education in the ways of the world to boys who had been reared to open plumbing."¹⁵ Cournos was appalled at the ribaldry of the boys when speaking of girls. It was outside his nature and experience even to speak aloud of a girl as having fine legs.¹⁶ Masters' and Carter's descriptions may sound to the uninitiated like conditions predating modern public school buildings and corrected in them. That this is not always the case many a school teacher can testify. The ribaldry, it is common knowledge, runs riot among certain groups in most schools. Avoidance of, or adjustment to, this situation must be an issue for children who are "protected" and fastidious but who want to be "one of the gang." To all it is an "education."

5. A final situation described by the writers was that of the classroom as a little world of romance. Most of the schools described were coeducational, and even in those where the sexes were separated in classes romance flourished. All sorts of individual results came about from these young but intense affairs. Cournos adored the fair sex, but was unable to court it and felt quite frustrated. The very presence of a girl made him speechless. Yet, when he fell in love with a young teacher who could unembarrass him, he found that the eternal feminine "had its practical as well as spiritual uses." He found pleasure in his work and did it properly.¹⁷ Masters improved in spelling because of the affection between him and a teacher. At the same time he developed a kind of "amorous madness" for a schoolmate.¹⁸ More complicated relationships of love and rivalry were described. Leonard Feeney was caught in the current of one of these when Alicia, the class belle, broke a bottle of ink on the floor. A brave boy told the teacher he had done it, and before the whole class he received Alicia's punishment for her. Leonard watched in misery. If he had thought of it, he could have done this brave thing. He had learned a lesson in chivalry, but he was afraid there might be no "next time."¹⁹ Love complications existed among the girls too. Marianne Oswald had looked with favor on André even before she came to school. But André preferred Yvonne and was insulting to Marianne. She was humbled—until Roger began championing her. Roger had been raised in Paris and was no ordinary mortal. Thus, Marianne's unrequited love found

¹⁵ Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹⁶ Cournos, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ Cournos, *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ Masters, *loc. cit.*

¹⁹ Leonard Feeney, *Survival till Seventeen* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1941), pp. 75-77.

consolation and her stock in herself went up in value.²⁰ This is the complicated world of classroom romance at the kindergarten level, where success, or lack of it, can be just as important to children, for the moment, as more mature affairs are to adults.

SUMMARY

While the number of autobiographies analyzed is too small to permit conclusions of general significance, it seems legitimate to make the following observations. (1) Memories of school life, viewed as a series of social situations, constitute a significant proportion of the childhood recollections of the authors of twenty-one unselected autobiographies. This fact suggests the possible importance of such situations in the study of behavior. (2) The references made by the authors tend to group themselves into areas of concentration, implying preponderances of problems and influences for future study. (3) It is significant that both the relative emphases given by the authors to the importance of school situations and the areas of concentration identified were made by authors of unrelated interests and backgrounds, and without promptings from a duly organized research project. The evidence offered, in other words, is spontaneous and unsolicited. No one can say that the authors of this article were told that which they wanted to discover.

²⁰ Oswald, *loc. cit.*

EVALUATION OF SOCIOLOGY TEACHING

HERBERT D. LAMSON
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- Within the educational framework teacher evaluation and supervision is the commonly accepted practice in elementary and secondary schools. When we reach college level, for various reasons the philosophy of education which prevails in the first two levels disappears and new values emerge. At the higher education level we cannot put up with supervision by educational experts or by deans and presidents because that would violate the sacred principle of academic freedom. The thesis that a professor's classroom is his castle which must not be invaded has undoubtedly many good reasons for growth and persistence. We do not wish to be spied upon by ignorant and biased individuals whose report to the outside world may be one-sided and unintelligent. We do not care to be political mouthpieces peddling some pet doctrine. We cannot abide the thought of any special interests—economic, political, or religious—using us as tools with which to work upon the minds and loyalties of the students within our castle. We do not recognize the validity of the proposition that outsiders can stand as censors over the reading material to which we direct our students' attention.

Yet, after we have paid our respects to the very valuable and necessary doctrine of academic freedom in university and college faculties, we have to admit that the warm and friendly protective cloak which is wrapped about us has come, in a good many instances, to cover something that ought not to be covered. We want freedom to teach what we as sociologists feel to be the truth, but should we continue to be protected for slovenly and inefficient teaching?

At various times in my teaching years I have raised the question, "Why do not the colleges and universities take a more lively and effective interest in improving the quality of teaching?" The replies have been neither encouraging nor convincing. I know that the ordinary teacher would not welcome in his classroom the unexpected visit of his departmental head, dean, or president—and perhaps rightly so. College presidents are not necessarily experts in effective teaching methods. University deans may be holding their jobs for other reasons than that they are expert consultants on the techniques of teaching. Besides, the casual, unexpected classroom visit would not by itself be a fair appraisal of a course. It might, however, show up certain personal peculiarities and ineffective classroom performances which could be improved under

friendly guidance. It might reveal difficulties under which the instructor is laboring in the physical setup of the room: the acoustics, the lighting, the ventilation, the seating. Education ought to be a pleasant experience, but in many institutions the classrooms are not designed or equipped to make it such. Certainly more administrative attention to these things would be a gain.

Evaluation of teaching ability may be admittedly more difficult than evaluation of the number of books, articles, and papers the professor has produced as a result of his research and ruminations. We as sociologists are paid primarily for being teachers, but more often we are judged by our research products and our writing. To pay a person for one thing and then judge him for doing something else hardly seems fair to him or to his students. The theory is well known: If you are a scholar, if you are hot on the trail of new knowledge, the divine sparks flashing from your eye in the classroom will kindle in the students some responsive glow. In this way the torch of learning will be safely relayed from generation to generation. It is a lovely theory, but let me cite the dull, droning, nose-in-the-manuscript manner in which research is often presented both in class and at our annual sociological meetings. Recall the nervous shuffling in and out of the sectional meeting rooms by fellow professionals whose attention is not commanded. Where are the sparks? Where the glow? If professionals cannot take it, how about the student who often has to sit through hour after hour of manuscript reading or research reports with no privilege of walking out?

College administrators act as though the man who is a good research producer will automatically be a good teacher. The experience of many readers will undoubtedly testify to the fact that it is the exception rather than the rule when keen abilities in both teaching and research go along together. It is not strange that there is a kind of opposition between the two. If you become enmeshed in some engaging sociological research, it tends to take more and more of your time. You want to penetrate deeply into the various attractive facets of the question. Having to go to class in the midst of tabulations, or dictation, or planning comes as an unwelcome interruption. The research-teacher comes to look upon class attendance as a necessary pot boiler—and why not? No matter how good a classroom teacher he is, this fact may never come to the attention of those who do the hiring and firing; recognition comes through having published research and writings. If you are not recognized for superior teaching, where is the incentive to improve? This is where a good university-wide evaluation system, for sociologists and for other teachers, could help

equalize teaching and research as bases for promotions and salaries. Why should not teachers have their academic Hooper ratings? Dare we face the frank anonymous reactions of our consumers?

The time has arrived when we as college sociology teachers should take steps to hold up a mirror to ourselves in order that we may know how our classroom performance is appealing to students. It is time to have our failings and foibles pointed out. Reply may be made that the teacher does have a rough-and-ready kind of evaluation in the reputation which he attains among students through informal grapevine methods, that when students elect a course and hand in a class card they are casting a vote of confidence in the instructor. This is not always so, however. Some students take courses because they have to, because their major course requires it, because the course comes at an agreeable hour, because they cannot find anything that they like better, or because they like the subject and do not even know who the teacher is to be.

Evaluation of the instructor, it is said, may be by the way he behaves in committees and in faculty meetings, by the impression he makes upon his colleagues, or by annual reports to departmental heads and deans. Yet the acid test would seem to be the reaction of students who sit day after day under the instructor's tutelage, and who respond or suffer at his hand.

Whenever formal student evaluation is proposed in a university it seems to create considerable discussion in faculty meetings, some of it heated, a good deal of it childish, much of it fearful. Commonly heard objections to the idea include the following: "It would be hard on young instructors just starting in." "Students would not take it seriously." "The students are not in a position to judge good teaching. They might vote negatively while in college and then completely change their ideas after they have been out a few years and have secured a better perspective." "Students would rate the entertainer-type very high." "Such a plan might blow the lid off an institution." "The student is unable to tell what is best for him." A good many of these objections assume that all students are fresh young things just out of high school. Today, with a large complement of mature veterans, both men and women, this easy assumption of immaturity cannot be given much weight. Some faculty members seem to be opposed to almost any attempt at evaluation of the job they are paid to perform. They even object to being required to make out an annual report on their year's work.

What are some common classroom faults of sociologists and other college teachers? Assuming that the interesting nature of the material re-

lieves the instructor of having to present it effectively. Depending too much on a natural student interest. Failing to speak clearly and with a pleasing voice. Talking into the reading desk. Looking vacantly out of the window, at the walls, anywhere except into the eyes of the students. Repeating what is said in the text (especially if it is one's own text). Giving tests that the students regard as unfair. Including on tests things not previously assigned. Forgetting what has been assigned. Coming in late. Personal habits such as ear pulling, chain diddling, rocking back and forth on the toes and heels, pacing interminably. Telling stale jokes. Coming unprepared to class. Inefficient roll taking. Being sarcastic or flippant and "mowing them down." Allowing students to get by with cheating on reports and tests. Maintaining dogmatic, Jehovah attitudes about social problems. Being careless in dress. Using out-of-date material and old notes. Riding pet hobbies and hates. Favoring the girls. Favoring certain girls or men. Being a polished apple. Using confusing diagrams and ones that cannot be seen from the back row or from one side of the room. Seeming tired and bored. Not returning work promptly. Playing the smart aleck in ridiculing people's beliefs. Talking over the heads of students. Reading from one's latest manuscript. Appearing irritated at questions from the class when lecturing. Assuming that when students are busily taking notes one has achieved success. Inadequate preparation for the field trip institutional visit. Letting some students monopolize discussion or lead off into bypaths that bore the rest of the class. Of some of these faults the professor is not conscious, and of these he needs to be reminded.

Some professors object to a rating system which is conducted by the administration with no chance for explanation and adaptation to the individual class. Such teachers might devise modifications to fit their particular courses, which would tap student reaction to methods of conducting the courses, assignments, tests, personal habits, readings, experiments, films, outside lectures, term reports, and field trips.

The results will contain some suggestions that can be used to advantage. Some of the recommendations will be contradictory in that some students will want more discussion, for instance, whereas others may clamor for more formal lectures. It is obvious that the professor cannot please both sides. He is there, not primarily to please, but to educate in a pleasing manner. However, not all the results will be recommendations which are contradictory. Some will indicate class consensus which the instructor should consider seriously. In using an evaluation blank which he devised the writer discovered that he was giving assignments that

were too long. Too much was being expected. The cynic might remark that this was just because the students were lazy and wanted to avoid work that they rightfully should be expected to do. However, it seemed in this case that the student reaction was justified. As a result, the work was lightened somewhat. The personal parts of an evaluation form do not necessarily need to be given each semester. After trying this once on a representative student group, an instructor begins to find out whether he has certain classroom mannerisms, faults of voice, dress, and the like which students note unfavorably. The *annual* evaluation of the *course* by an anonymous questionnaire filled out in class *does* have definite values.

What things should be included in such a form? Such questions as the following I have found to be helpful: "Has this course stimulated you to think along lines you had not considered much before? Has there been much, some, little, or no duplication of other courses? What specific things did you like, dislike about the use of the class hour? Did the text hold your interest? Were the sound films worth while? What topics did you feel to be overemphasized, slighted? Do you think there should be some, or more, student participation in planning the course? Do you think the prerequisites for the course should be changed in any way? What other specific things would you suggest in order to make the course educationally more effective? What general comments have you on the course: favorable, unfavorable? What general comments have you on the instructor: favorable, unfavorable?"

In addition to these general questions, specific ones can be included concerning particular assignments or books or reports in the course. For example, in my college marriage class I ask on the anonymous evaluation form about mimeographed articles given as assignments and about the usefulness of optional parallel reading lists. Further, I want to know: "Has the course helped you in any specific way?" Also, "Has this course had the effect of discouraging you from wanting to marry? Do you think that married students should be in a separate section?" As a result of student replies to a question, "Do you think there should be definite provision for personal conferences in connection with this course?" I am scheduling definite time for voluntary counseling hours by appointment, whereas before I had simply invited anyone in the class to drop into the office at any time when he wanted to talk things over.

As we have attended national and regional meetings of sociologists over the years, it has seemed to some of us that relatively inadequate time and attention have been paid to the teaching function of our profession. At these meetings we have acted as though we were all research

specialists reporting upon and discussing tiny bits of someone's project. When we returned to our campus desks we found we were engrossed with teaching during most of our working hours; yet we had received very little help from these professional meetings in actual techniques of teaching, inspiring and leading our students, or in presenting our material in ever more interesting and effective ways. There had been little to aid us in evaluating either our sociological goals or our own methods.

Could it be that one reason for the backward state of college sound films for sociology classes, for example, is that we have not been interested in demanding such material and in showing various companies how best these films and other visual materials might fit our subject matter? Is there anything essentially unprofessional or unscholarly in making our classroom presentations and performances as perfect as possible? Much is known about the results of teaching methods in lower schools. How much do we know about the results of our own practices in teaching sociology to college students? Could we not have more attention, then, in our national and regional meetings to methods of teaching; ways of checking up on classrooms as places where the educational process takes place at least in part; of finding ways of evaluating professor performance; of attracting the best ideas on the most effective uses of lecture, discussion, films, field trips, research by undergraduates? During the war many sociologists were detached from their posts, conducting special projects for the government. Is it not equally important in time of peace for some to be at work on basic teaching problems?

THE FARMERS UNION COOPERATIVES

WILLIAM P. TUCKER
Macalester College

- Increased interest in agricultural cooperation calls for periodic revaluation of the programs of the principal farm organizations. Such a study of the Farmers Union is especially pertinent because it has probably placed more emphasis on the building of cooperatives than any of the other chief general farm organizations.¹

The Farmers Union, with a present membership of some 150,000 families, counts more than 350,000 families as members or patrons of its Union-sponsored cooperatives.

The Union is rightfully regarded as a true descendant of the Grange and the Farmers Alliance. The passing of these two organizations from the southern scene left an open field for the rise of the Union, an organization that was to place chief emphasis on the prosperity of the farmer (to be achieved largely through building cooperatives) and only secondary emphasis on his social life.²

Starting in Texas in 1902, the Union movement quickly spread throughout the South and into some border and Western states by 1910. The second decade saw its steady decline in the South and its rapid rise in parts of the Missouri Valley, where terminal marketing of livestock, and later grain, was successfully developed on the basis of local shipping associations. Since the mid-twenties, the greatest concentration of Union membership and the greatest success with Union-sponsored cooperatives has been in the spring wheat area. Only since about 1940 has the Union's program again begun to make headway in the lower Mississippi Valley states.

Rapid growth of the Union in the South was aided by the poverty of the average farmer, the Union's emphasis on the evils of the money and credit system, and emphasis on savings through cooperative buying and selling.³ The decline in this area resulted, among other things, from

¹ See also the author's *The Farmers Union: a Study in Social and Political Thought and Action* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1945); "The Farmers Union: the Social Thought of a Current Agrarian Movement," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 27:45-53, June, 1946; "Study of a Marketing Co-op," *Cooperative Digest*, April, 1946, pp. 58-59. The author wishes to express his special appreciation to Mr. Robert Handschin of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association for constructive suggestions at a number of points in the complete study.

² Charles S. Barrett, *Mission, History and Times of the Farmers Union* (Nashville, 1909), *passim*.

³ Robert L. Hunt, *A History of Farmer Movements in the Southwest, 1873-1925* (College Station, Texas: privately published, 1935), pp. 56-60. Basic source material on the early years of the movement.

poor business management in both the Union and its cooperatives, the reaction resulting from an unsound mushroom growth, and the unsound foundation furnished by a poor and often illiterate membership.

Growth of the Union movement in the Missouri Valley states since World War I was aided by the rapid expansion of the livestock and grain-growing industries attendant upon the war and the impulse toward organization to resist the agricultural deflation following the war. Continued expansion since the twenties was based on lessons learned in the techniques of large-scale organization.

Theory and practice. The Farmers Union cooperative program goes further than the programs of many other cooperative groups in that many of its leaders look toward the eventual development of a "cooperative commonwealth," in which producers and consumers, through their cooperatives, would own and operate the principal mechanisms of production and distribution.⁴ In practice, a good balance sheet is one immediate and important aim. But the institution must "never become merely a cold-blooded business institution"; it must continue to serve the best interests of the "family-size" farmer.⁵

Rochdale principles (democratic control, limited dividends on capital, distribution of earnings on the basis of patronage, etc.) are followed by these co-ops; and the purchasing co-ops work toward a cash basis of doing business. Both local and central co-ops regularly set aside a portion of earnings (usually 5 per cent) for an "educational fund," for extending the understanding and practice of cooperative principles. Most of this is spent by the state and local units of the parent organization, the Farmers Union.⁶

The Union currently sponsors a variety of cooperatives. The marketing type includes those for grain, livestock, cotton, dairy products, and other produce. Purchasing co-ops distribute gasoline, oil, auto and tractor supplies, foods, clothing, coal, and other household goods. Other consumer-type cooperatives include credit unions, funeral homes, insurance companies, and a hospital.

An outstanding example of local Union cooperation in practice is that of Williston, North Dakota, often referred to as "the most cooperative town in North America." In a town with a population of some 5,000 the

⁴ H. V. Knight, *The Consumer Awakes* (Jamestown, N.D.: Farmers Union Cooperative Education Service, 1939), p. 23 f.

⁵ Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, *Annual Report*, 1943, p. 26.

⁶ H. V. Knight, *The Farmers Union Highroad* (Denver: National Farmers Union Education Service, 1944), pp. 39-40; Gladys T. Edwards, *Farmers Union Triangle* (Jamestown, N.D.: Farmers Union Education Service, 1941), *passim*.

Union-sponsored co-ops do an annual business of well over \$1,000,000. These establishments include a hatchery and poultry-shipping plant, feed and seed supply house, elevator, wholesale supply firm, oil company, lumber yard, livestock-shipping firm, creamery, general store, credit union, funeral home, cold storage locker plant, and weekly newspaper.⁷

The co-op and the union. In some places the co-ops are operated as integral parts or subdivisions of the state or local Union. But in most states they are separate corporations controlled by their members. Usually, however, there is an overlapping of Union and co-op leadership personnel, with varying amounts of overlapping in general membership. The proportion of union membership to co-op membership varies from 1:2 to about 1:4. In the spring wheat area, served by the three St. Paul terminal firms, these estimates are given by co-op officials: 140,000 patrons of local Union-sponsored co-ops; 100,000 of these doing business with one or more of the three terminal firms; 60,000 Union members in the area.⁸

Marketing co-ops. Texas, the home of the first Union, was the scene of the organization's first effort to control prices (in this case, cotton) through limiting production. This effort failed, but local cotton warehouses and gins spread throughout the South. According to one Union estimate the warehouses numbered some 1,500 by 1909.⁹

Union grain elevators were operating in Kansas and Nebraska by 1912. Since 1914, the marketing and purchasing needs of local co-ops in this winter wheat area have been served by the Kansas Farmers Union Jobbing Association.¹⁰ In the spring wheat area of the Dakotas and Minnesota, the Equity Co-operative Exchange, a parent of the present Union organization, was established in 1911.¹¹

The World War period also saw the development of the Union's program of terminal marketing of livestock in the Northwest. The Equity Cooperative Exchange was established on the St. Paul market in 1916, and Union firms were launched at Omaha, St. Joseph, Chicago, Kansas City, Sioux City, and Denver by 1919.¹²

⁷ Knight, *The Farmers Union Highroad*, pp. 7-9; Edwards, pp. 129-30.

⁸ Robert Handschin, Director of Research, Grain Terminal Association (interview); Emil Syftestad, General Manager, Central Exchange (interview).

⁹ Barrett, p. 233; Edwards, p. 27; C. B. Fisher, *The Farmers Union* (Lexington, Ky., 1920), p. 37; G. H. Powell, *Cooperation in Agriculture*, p. 193.

¹⁰ Farmers Union Jobbing Association, *Annual Report*, 1938, p. 21.

¹¹ Herman Steen, *Cooperative Marketing*, p. 212 f.; H. B. Price, *Marketing of Farm Products*, pp. 99-104; "Pioneer and Builder of Co-ops," *GTA Digest*, 3:39-40, May 25, 1943.

¹² Knight, *The Farmers Union Highroad*, p. 18 f.; A. A. Dowell and K. Bjorka, *Livestock Marketing*, pp. 175-77; E. G. Nourse and J. G. Knapp, *Cooperative Marketing of Livestock*, pp. 109-16; H. B. Price, p. 130 f.; G. L. Sherlock, *The Modern Farm Cooperative Movement*, pp. 162-69; Steen, pp. 107-10.

The largest of the Union marketing co-ops, the Grain Terminal Association, was developed in the twenties. It will be discussed in more detail below. The next most important grain terminal firm is the Kansas Farmers Union Jobbing Association, cited above, whose progress has been slower and less spectacular than that of the GTA.¹³

The terminal marketing of livestock grew slowly in the interwar period, due partly to the increasing tendency of growers to send livestock direct to market by truck instead of by rail. Annual net savings by the Omaha and St. Paul firms (the two largest) in recent years have been between \$20,000 and \$30,000.¹⁴

Cotton and milk products are the most important of the crops handled in lesser volume by Union co-ops. The cotton business centers in Oklahoma, where more than 100 gins (currently or formerly under Union auspices) are in operation. The milk products business is centered in Nebraska and Wisconsin, the former for a long time one of the largest Union states in terms of membership. Nebraska is the fourth largest butter-producing state, and the Union creameries are the largest producers of butter in the state.¹⁵

Minor crops include peanuts in Oklahoma; rice, cranberries, figs, strawberries, and lily bulbs in Louisiana; mustard in Montana; and turkeys in Montana, Minnesota, and the Dakotas.¹⁶

Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, St. Paul. The GTA, the country's largest grain-marketing cooperative, is an outgrowth of the Equity Cooperative Exchange, mentioned above. That firm was the pioneer effort of Northwest farmers to free themselves from the grip of private grain-marketing firms. The successor to the Exchange operated for a time during the twenties as the Equity Union Marketing Association. In 1926 the name became the Farmers Union Terminal Association, and by 1930 it was referred to in Union literature as the "the largest cooperative enterprise ever founded by the Farmers Union."¹⁷ Its lineal descendant, the present GTA, was organized in 1938.

The GTA affects directly the lives and activities of more than 100,000 farm families in the spring wheat area. Its activities include considerably more than would appear at first glance. These are operation of a terminal grain commission marketing business; financing country elevator associations during the seasonal shipping operations; furnishing

¹³ Farmers Union Jobbing Association, *Annual Report*, 1938, p. 18.

¹⁴ St. Paul *Dispatch*, December 11, 1944.

¹⁵ Knight, *The Farmers Union Highroad*, p. 12, 15-17; Edwards, pp. 112, 121.

¹⁶ Knight, *ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

¹⁷ NFU, Northwest division, *Historical Sketch*, p. 15 f.

accounting and auditing services for such co-op elevators, merchandising grain at terminal and interior markets in 37 states; operating terminal and subterminal elevators with 11,000,000 bushels' storage capacity; operating a line of 137 local elevators purchased from a private firm; operating a durum wheat mill; and financing and directing the operation of three subsidiaries—the Farmers Union Grain and Supply Company, the Farmers Union GTA Mills, Inc. (a wheat manufacturing business), and the Farmers Lumber and Supply Company (which operates 77 lumber yards and 29 coal yards in the Northwest). The Association's terminal and subterminal elevators are located in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Superior, Spokane, Lewistown, Shelby, and Williston.¹⁸ Established in 1938 with a capital of \$30,000 plus government credit, the GTA has a current net worth in excess of \$12,000,000. The number of bushels of grain handled per year has grown from 17 million to 127 million.

The Board of Directors of GTA consists of eleven members, all active farmers, elected by the annual stockholders' meeting for three-year terms. A tabulation of the background of these members shows substantial experience as state legislators, employees of state and federal administrative agencies, and officials in local cooperatives and the local, state, and national Farmers Union organizations.¹⁹

Policy determination, of course, is the role of the board, while choice of personnel and freedom in execution of policy is in the hands of the management. Along with recent expansion of physical property and service has come the addition of such new staff departments as research and agricultural economics, public relations, and a cereals laboratory. The public relations department directs a regular schedule of radio programs, edits the GTA house organ, and prepares material for publication in the *Farmers Union Herald* (the joint organ of GTA, the Central Exchange, and the Livestock Commission).²⁰

At the annual stockholders' meeting, where attendance runs to several thousand, large problems of policy are determined and board members are elected. In order to vote, farmer patrons must buy common stock at a dollar a share, each stockholder being allowed one vote.²¹

In spite of changes in dietary habits, shrinking export markets, and other factors which may spell a future decrease in American wheat-

¹⁸ *National Union Farmer*, May 1, 1943, p. 8 (hereafter referred to as NUF); GTA, *Annual Report*, 1943, p. 3.

¹⁹ GTA, *Annual Report*, 1944, pp. 3, 34-36.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1943, pp. 10, 30.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1944, p. 13; 1943, p. 30.

growing acreage, the GTA expects to expand its total volume of business and influence in the total agricultural picture. Tentative plans call for efforts to develop new strains of grain and new uses for grain, diversifying subsidiary operations in conformity with trends toward diversifying agriculture and securing a larger fraction of the total farmer business in its area and surrounding areas.²²

Other plans call for continued close cooperation and coordination of effort with the National Farmers Union and its state divisions in the area served by GTA. One example of this cooperation is the practice of distributing a percentage of net earnings each year to the state Unions in the area on the basis of patronage of farmers in each of those states.²³ Another example is the standing invitation to the state Union presidents to attend GTA board meetings, with expenses paid.

Purchasing co-ops. Local purchasing or supply establishments were developed early in the Union's history because they were more easily financed and often yielded more substantial returns on small investments than did marketing organizations.²⁴

Occasionally, a group would embark on simple processing to supply farm needs. But these ventures were usually not successful, except for creameries, cheese plants, and similar undertakings.²⁵

Successful exchanges, or wholesale supply firms, were established first by Nebraska and Kansas, in 1913 and 1914, respectively. The Nebraska firm was at first a part of the state Union (like the present supply firm in Oklahoma), but a separate Nebraska corporation was set up in 1919.²⁶

In 1920 the state exchanges held the following ranking in amount of business transacted: tristate area (Washington, Oregon, Idaho), Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Iowa, South Dakota, Kentucky, and California.²⁷

An especially popular type of consumers' cooperative service is that of insurance. This was one of the earliest large-scale purchasing undertakings of Union people, and one of the most profitable. By 1920 Union insurance firms were operating in Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, and Indiana.²⁸

²² *Ibid.*, 1944, p. 29.

²³ GTA, *Annual Report*, 1943, p. 32.

²⁴ Fisher, p. 36.

²⁵ Barrett, p. 217.

²⁶ NUF, February 15, 1944, p. 12; F. U. Jobbing Association, *Annual Report*, 1938, p. 21.

²⁷ Fisher, p. 44; A. C. Davis, *The Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union*, *passim*.

²⁸ Fisher, p. 48.

The Union-sponsored exchanges have made substantial progress since the first World War, the three largest being located at St. Paul, Omaha, and Kansas City. Others have been functioning for several years in Denver, Oklahoma City, Portland, Des Moines, and Sioux City. More recently established firms are found in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas.

The *Farmers Union Central Exchange* of St. Paul is the largest of the supply firms now functioning under Union auspices. It was established in 1927 as a division of the Farmers Union (Grain) Terminal Association, but has been separately operated under its present name since 1931.

The Central Exchange was launched mainly to save farmers money on the purchase of binder twine. Success in that field led to the merchandising of oil, salt, coal, feed, flour, and some other supplies to local associations, beginning in 1928. That same year the Exchange began organizing co-op oil companies in North Dakota. These local firms were later to account for the major portion of its volume of business.²⁹

The Exchange is owned and controlled by its local cooperative customer associations, of which there were 91 in 1931, about 250 by 1939, and some 600 in 1947. Its annual sales increased from \$906,000 in 1931 to \$5,000,000 in 1939 and some \$20,000,000 in 1946. About half of the Exchange's total volume of business is transacted by affiliated local co-ops in North Dakota, where the volume of sales of petroleum products is second only to that of Standard Oil.³⁰

There are two kinds of stock, common and preferred, as in the case of the GTA. But Exchange stock, both common and preferred, has a par value of \$25. The two kinds are similar except that voting is restricted to owners of common stock. Dividends on both types are limited to 4 per cent.³¹ Common stock may be sold only to Union cooperatives, to members in good standing and subscribers who are eligible to membership in the Union, and to co-ops approved by an annual meeting of Exchange stockholders. Patronage dividends may be paid in cash or in stock. Thus far, all dividends have been paid in stock, thereby making possible rapid expansion of the enterprise.³²

²⁹ Farmers Union Central Exchange, *Set Up, History, Growth and Development, passim*; John Daniels, *Cooperation*, pp. 245-50; L. C. Kercher et al., *Consumers Cooperatives in the North Central States*, pp. 406-10; R. K. Froker and J. G. Knapp, *Farmers' Purchasing Associations in Wisconsin*, Farm Credit Administration, bul. 20, October, 1937, p. 10.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Knight, *The Farmers Union Highroad*, p. 27; St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, February 19, 1947.

³¹ Froker, p. 95 f.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Broad policy is determined at the annual stockholders' meeting, where three of the ten board members are elected each year. Each local co-op sends one delegate for each one hundred local members or major fraction thereof. These delegates cast as many votes as the locals have stockholding members.³³

The Exchange maintains competitive market prices, as do other large supply co-ops. At one time some of the business was brokerage. Now many supplies are warehoused in central and branch warehouses. Oil is blended and distributed from the St. Paul blending plant of the Exchange. In recent years petroleum products have accounted for about three fourths of the products handled by the Exchange.³⁴ To fill its needs for gasoline and oil, the Exchange has purchased a refinery at Laurel, Montana, and (in cooperation with four other regional cooperatives) has acquired a refinery at McPherson, Kansas.³⁵

Special services for member co-ops include a credit union, an accounting service, and an insurance unit. The *Farmers Union Herald*, one of the country's largest farm newspapers, is the joint organ of the Exchange, the GTA, and the Farmers Union Livestock Commission Company. The present education service of the National Farmers Union was begun by the Exchange about 1936.³⁶

The Exchange, like the other Farmers Union-sponsored cooperatives, pays a percentage of its annual earnings to the state Unions for their educational work.

The second largest exchange sponsored by the Farmers Union, and the oldest now operating under Union auspices, is the Nebraska Farmers Union State Exchange. Its volume of business in 1943 was three and a half million dollars.³⁷

In Kansas the supply work is a part of the grain-marketing organization and has had a slow growth. In Oklahoma the supply business is operated as a division of the state Union.³⁸

In the years since 1920 most of the state Unions have developed insurance programs. Since 1938 most of this life and property insurance business has been centralized in the office of the National Farmers Union.³⁹

³³ Kercher, pp. 422-26; Froker, p. 96.

³⁴ Froker, p. 99; Knight, *The Farmers Union Highroad*, p. 26 f.

³⁵ NUF, March 1, 1943, p. 12, and August 1, 1943, p. 3; Knight, p. 26 f.

³⁶ Central Exchange, *Annual Report*, 1939, pp. 37-41; Froker, p. 101.

³⁷ Knight, *The Consumer Awakens*, p. 42; NUF, February 15, 1943, p. 5; Edwards, p. 120 f.; Knight, *Farmers Union Highroad*, p. 26.

³⁸ Edwards, p. 123; Knight, *The Consumer Awakens*, p. 43; Knight, *Farmers Union Highroad*, p. 27.

³⁹ NFU, Northwest division, *Historical Sketch*, p. 33ff; NUF, March 15, 1944, p. 6; September 15, 1944, p. 8; December 15, 1944, p. 8.

Numerically small but historically significant are the people in Oklahoma who established at Elk City the first American cooperative hospital. In a recent year membership totaled some 2,400 families. Annual health service dues ranged from \$12 for a single person to \$25 for a family of four. For these dues members receive examinations, general treatment, and some surgical and hospital nursing care.⁴⁰

Credit unions are of growing importance in some states as cooperative banks for local enterprises. This work began in Nebraska and spread to North Dakota, Montana, Wisconsin, and Colorado.⁴¹

Influence of Farmers Union cooperatives in the Northwest. The *Farmers Union Herald* of St. Paul, one of the largest farm papers in the United States, provides a good indication of the influence of the Union's cooperative movement in the Northwest. The circulation figures for this journal show that Union-sponsored co-ops are concentrated in northern Wisconsin, southern and western Minnesota, eastern South Dakota, and northern Montana. Except for Wisconsin, this is the spring wheat area, which shows the importance of grain marketing to the Union. North Dakota and Montana lead the states, with about half of the farms doing business with one or more Union terminal co-op firms. Co-op membership and wheat growing show a high correlation, especially in North Dakota. In that state, in six of the principal eastern wheat-growing counties the *Herald* circulation is more than 65 per cent as great as the total number of farms. Most of the other high-ranking counties are in the north.

Likewise, in Montana the eastern counties ranking highest are in the wheat belt, but livestock-producing counties also rank high in Union co-op business. In South Dakota, also, nearly all of the counties ranking high in Union co-op business are in the spring wheat belt, the eastern third of the state.

Most of this area served by the Union-sponsored co-ops is more or less disadvantaged, from several standpoints, in comparison with many other agricultural states. It is predominantly a one-crop area, with a crop which is an important export commodity and a market which therefore tends to fluctuate with world economic conditions. The area is largely on the western dry margin of agriculture. Being an extensive-type farming area, it is abnormally affected by freight rates and is quite dependent

⁴⁰ Daniels, p. 335 f.; Bertram Fowler, *Consumers Cooperation in America*, pp. 156-64; Knight, *Farmers Union Highroad*, pp. 31-33; Michael Shadid, *A Doctor for the People*, *passim*.

⁴¹ Edwards, p. 124.

upon credit for financing land, equipment, and current operations. These factors of instability have all affected the political and social thoughts and actions of the people, contributing significantly and successively to the revolts of Populism, the Equity movement, the Nonpartisan League, and finally the Farmers Union movement—all seeking farmer self-organization as a counter to domination at the hands of urban financial and business monopoly.

Other areas. The Union movement, which first flourished and died in the South, is again penetrating the Southern states. Recently developed central purchasing co-ops are found in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. These also include some marketing functions and are an outgrowth of the Farm Security Administration program in those states.⁴²

Summary and prospects. During the forty-four years of its existence, the Farmers Union and its affiliated co-ops have played an important part in the development of agricultural thought and action, at present reaching directly, through the co-ops, nearly a half-million farm families.

It is basic to Union philosophy that strong Unions and strong co-ops are built and expanded together and only together. Officials feel that success is limited at best where either is emphasized unduly at the expense of the other.

The theory underlying the Union cooperative movement includes both long-term and short-term aspects. The first, according to some union leaders, foresees the attainment of a cooperative commonwealth, and the second, which is the program of the majority, strives toward what is regarded as increasing degrees of economic democracy. The immediate dollars-and-cents value of cooperatives is foremost in the minds of the majority. Rochdale principles are the standard for union cooperative practice.

The Grain Terminal Association and the Central Exchange, serving the spring wheat area, are interesting examples of Union cooperative achievement in the marketing and wholesaling fields. They are the Union's largest firms, and some of the youngest, in their respective fields. Each has experienced rapid growth under efficient business management which as yet remains responsive to membership control; and the growth of each has been in part made possible through a policy of reinvestment of patronage dividends in the enterprise. Both have assisted local co-ops with their credit needs—the GTA through short-term marketing season

⁴² Knight, *Farmers Union Highroad*, p. 28; NUF, October 15, 1943

credit, and the Exchange through sponsoring a central association for local credit unions. Both have expanded their activities into a larger field—the GTA into one phase of flour milling, feed production, and lumber and coal yards; the Exchange into oil refining and feed processing. Both have consistently followed a policy of giving strong support to the Union and its promotional program. Both foresee continued expansion in the area—in increased areal and numerical coverage and in added services. Both (but especially the GTA) visualize research and public relations as being increasingly important tools in the program of cooperative expansion.

NEUROPSYCHIATRIC CASUALTIES FROM RURAL AREAS DURING WORLD WAR II¹

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● Problems of health have constituted an important area of investigation in rural sociology. Until recent years, however, most of the research has been confined to physical health and facilities, underplaying and sometimes ignoring the mental health aspects. Reasons for this are not hard to find. Many people have thought of mental disease and maladjustment as urban phenomena, forgetting that similar basic processes operate in rural areas.

It was not until the onset of conscription, when the Selective Service rejection rates of the so-called "mentally unfit" from rural areas seemed to be significant, that real concern was expressed. This has given rise to such studies as "The Mental Health Status of Farm Children" by Mangus.² His findings indicated that about 19 per cent of the farm children in the sixth grade in school show evidences of poor mental health, 18 per cent show evidences of superior mental health, and the majority, 63 per cent, fall in between these extremes. The prevalence of poor mental health or maladjustment among farm children was greater among sixth graders than among third graders, implying the hypothesis that the problem grows greater with age. Maladjustments were more frequent among boys than among girls in the ratio of 2 to 3. It was also found that the duller children showed much poorer personal and social adjustment than did those with superior mental ability. Mangus further found that 22.9 per cent of all selective service rejectees from the county in which the study was compiled were rejected because of mental or personality disorders.³

Further evidence of this problem was noted when neuropsychiatric discharges of service men from rural areas ran significantly high. Complete statistics are not available at this time, but it appears from sample data and is confirmed by the opinion of many who served in psychological units, including the author, that the rate of discharge on a mental illness basis from rural areas will be as high as that from urban areas, if not higher.

¹ The author is indebted to Dr. John Cuber, Dr. Brewton Berry, and Dr. Robert Harper for editorial and academic assistance in formulating the ideas expressed in this paper.

² A. R. Mangus, *The Mental Health Status of Farm Children*, Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, Ohio State University, September, 1946.

³ *Loc. cit.*

There appear to be inferential reasons which may partially explain these neuropsychiatric discharges among men of rural residence before induction. These "reasons" rest upon two assumptions, both of which can be abundantly documented by psychiatric literature: (1) that the basis for personal breakdown was in many cases well established before entrance into the service and, therefore, (2) that military duties tended to accentuate an ongoing process, rather than constitute a sole situational cause. It is indicated, furthermore, that the discharges in question can very often be traced to poor initial screening techniques at the time of examination for military service.

Psychiatric care and treatment in rural areas is meager, if it can be said to exist at all. It is well established that psychiatrists are few in number, these few being concentrated in a limited number of urban centers. It would appear that if care of the mentally ill is poor in urban life, the condition in rural areas would be much worse. The end product of this situation is resultant in either a complete ignoring of mental health problems, or inadequate treatment by a general medical practitioner who is rarely equipped to cope with psychological complications.

It is also to be noted that the concept of treatment in relation to psychiatric illness is still fairly new. It may be said that many people today still conceive of mental illness as completely inherited and incurable, and think largely in terms of those "unfortunate" individuals who must be institutionalized for society's "best interests." These attitudes are frequently found in the more sophisticated urban centers, where new and different ideas are constantly introduced. What can one reasonably expect in the folk society where a premium is placed on tradition and a frown usually directed toward change, especially in the realm of ideas?

The impact of primary group associations and the role they played in Selective Service should not be underestimated. Health standards tended to become almost subservient, in many cases, to community pressure to enter the service. Usually when the draftees arrived at the induction station they were given a fairly thorough physical examination, as a result of which many were rejected. Nevertheless, the local boards frequently returned the men for re-examination. Some were sent back by the local draft board three and four times but were eventually inducted. Further, it was a commonly accepted belief that if a community had a malcontent, an alcoholic, or a criminal he would be far better off in uniform, since the army would "make a man" of him. Such practices led in many places to a mass rounding up of all undesirables and maladjusted people, who were soon taken into service. What apparently was often

completely forgotten was that the qualities necessary for adjustment to the army were similar though probably not identical to those which were basic to civilian adjustment. Those individuals encountering difficulties in making adjustments as civilians as a rule found military service also frustrating.

Change from a relatively simple environment with few demands upon the man to a somewhat more complex situation with many demands also made for mental disorder. It is a well-established fact, for example, that many people of limited intelligence were taken into the army. This, however, does not per se constitute a problem. Persons in this category got along adequately, especially in those situations where they worked within the framework of their own limitations. But being taken out of the old cultural milieu and placed in this new environment necessitated adjustments often beyond their capabilities. This situation soon gave rise to much anxiety and eventual personal disorganization necessitating separation from the service.

Formalized and routinized restrictions, regulations, and adherence to rules are likely to bring resentment and confusion to individuals from a primary group society. The formality of secondary group social controls in the services placed many and onerous personal limitations on the freedom and behavior of all soldiers. It is highly probable that those with urban backgrounds found less difficulty in making acceptable adjustments. Their socialization was characterized by conformity to numerous legal sanctions and formal codes. To the rural soldier with a background of individualism and informal contact such true adherence to form became difficult and resulted eventually in much anxiety.

It should be noted also that frequently the basic values of rural soldiers were in more direct conflict with army standards. As an example, we may take the concept of "time." Certainly "time" does not have a universal meaning; it differs from group to group. The writer recalls some soldiers from certain mountain regions in America asking for permission to take time out for smoking. Permission was granted; they left but did not return for hours. When asked for an explanation, they merely said that there was no immediate work to be done and therefore returning any sooner did not seem important. Many other such experiences might be related which would show that this basic difference in values tended to define many rural soldiers per se as "behavior problems." Courts-martial and reprimands came about as a result of these confusions. Meanwhile soldiers, as a result of this misunderstanding, tended to grow increasingly hostile to the army.

Of the many factors operating to produce psychiatric patients in rural life the conflict between folk culture and urban patterns would appear to be of prime importance. Like the children of immigrant parents who are constantly having to adjust to conflicting standards of behavior, many of the younger rural people also are faced with the problem of accepting what seem to be antithetical values. This ever-recurring marginality has led to much frustration, anxiousness, and severe maladjustment. The ever-increasing attempt to permeate rural life with urban values also presents communities with a kind of social change that frequently results in mental hygiene problems for the individual. The attempt to urbanize rural institutions and values and still maintain personal integration may be one of the most important problems rural America will have to face in the next generation. Those who advocate more rapid social change than is now in evidence should note that the introduction of new values may solve some old problems but may also precipitate new ones. This does not imply a discouragement of well-grounded scientific programs of reform per se. It merely indicates some limitations involved in such planning. It is very likely then that personality difficulties are not altogether new to rural living, yet it took a war to make us aware of their existence. America as a nation is intricately tied up with the welfare and well-being of its rural people. It would appear to be a serious waste of our human resources to allow those who are to be the future farmers of America to become unhappy and inefficient. Mental hygiene services for rural areas would appear to constitute a possible solution to this problem.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN INDUSTRY

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● During the war years some companies adopted a spirit of paternalism and fostered many diverse services to promote employee welfare. These services ranged from health clinics to recreation clubs and became more prevalent during periods of greatest war production. As government subsidies to wartime industries increased, there was a comparable increase in the number of employee service organizations sponsored by management. The latter movement evidenced a feeling on the part of management that employees are motivated socially as well as economically, and wish to be associated with the social and economic growth of their company. The cessation of government subsidies and the spirit of competition, however, have caused a decrease in employee welfare units and services. Thus, during the war years some companies adopted a benevolent attitude toward employees and benefited temporarily through the realization that the payment of wages only partially compensates the wage earner and that wholesome stimulation of basic psychological drives remains the key to many production and industrial relations problems.

However, despite the above movements, it appears that paternalism does not always achieve defined objectives in the field of industrial relations. Some attempts at paternalism "have occurred, as it were, in a void" and have not been directed toward any "particular problem"; therefore, they fall under the heading of "blunderbuss techniques."¹ It follows that "no palliatives external to the work situation can remedy a fundamental defect of organization."²

C. S. Slocombe sententiously surveys certain shortcomings in the current industrial relations scene and stresses the necessity of following newer concepts of the "social psychologists and sociologists" as opposed to the regimented concepts of "mechanistic" thinking in some industrial relations programs:³ "It is high time that American industrial companies quit using blunderbusses in their industrial relations, and start to use intelligent methods in dealings with their employees. In doing so they should certainly veer away from the mechanistic concepts of the psychologists, and take note of the findings of the social psychologists and soci-

¹ Elton Mayo and George F. F. Lombard, "Teamwork and Labor Turnover in the Aircraft Industry," quoted in C. S. Slocombe, "Teams of Workers," *Personnel Journal*, 23:296, 1945.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ The Editor, "Wake Up America," *Personnel Journal*, 23:282-83, 1945.

ologists on how to get people to work together in accordance with their fundamental natures."⁴

The current crisis before management. It follows that the present transition period presents a critical problem to competitive capitalism insofar as big business possesses the power to create semipaternalistic enterprises that recognize the quasi-sovereign status of the wage earner. Heretofore, the human equation has not been wholly recognized in some industrial concerns. The emotionalized drives and motivations of the worker that can be channeled purposefully to increase production and work performance have remained unchanneled, thereby widening the possibility of rifts between management and the worker. Perhaps it is too idealistic to state that one of the primary reasons for the existence of the corporate enterprise is to promote the economic and social welfare of the individual; but from an ethical standpoint, it is not farfetched to state that companies should at least consider employee welfare as one of the concomitant aims of their organizations.

Solving the inherent hostility of labor. Basically, profit organizations demand an effective work force. They function primarily to show profits on capital investments. Historically, the autocratic authority vested in the administrative head has intensified rather than decreased the hostility of the factory mind. This inherent hostility of the worker remains a powerful force, and must be eliminated if harmonious relations are to be attained between management and the worker. The crux of the current industrial problems revolves around the inability of management to recognize the basic psychological drives, prejudices, and frustrations of the individual worker and his relationship with other members of his own social or mechanical caste. The mechanical aristocracy presents a potent economic and social problem to the capitalistic entrepreneur, and the members of the former are especially unique insofar as they demand much more attention than the routine functions of allocating wealth, capital goods, and materials to the business enterprise. The problem of molding the worker to the industrial behavior pattern and thus insuring increased production is the greatest problem before present-day American industry. Effective manpower is the unknown quantity today and, unlike the other aspects of big business, presents the many problems that are inherent in diverse human behaviorisms. This fact alone demonstrates the necessity for a more humanistic attitude on the part of management in the evolution of an effective employee relations program.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

It is a generally accepted fact that emotions and motivations play a great part in the educative process, and it also holds true that the positive emotional adjustment of the employee to the work situation remains one of the keys to increased production. Mass production methods tend to detract from a pride in craftsmanship and make work operations repetitive and automatic. This tendency directed toward the adapting of neuromuscular skills and responses to the automatonlike capacities of power machines serves only to intensify the frustrations, prejudices, and the basic psychological drives of the wage earner, thereby widening the breach between management and the worker. Morris Viteles aptly describes some newer concepts of the worker and his place in the social environment:

During the past decade, management and personnel workers have been fully aware of the inadequacies of a personnel programme centered around the concept of the worker merely as an individual and resulting in the neglect of the worker as a social being related to others in a complex social organization. Industrial psychologists have reacted to this changing outlook . . . in considering not alone the interactions of workers and managers as individuals, but the problems which arise in dealing with the worker as a representative of an organized group.⁵

Positive approach by management. The current industrial situation demands that management abandon the negative aspects previously associated with some employee-service functions. In some instances personnel units were formed to act as a buffer between the worker and management and were considered justified by the proficiency with which they delayed the demands of labor. Obviously, these techniques widen the gulf between the wage earner and the profit taker, and are diametrically opposite to the basic premises of a professionally sound personnel organization. Therefore, a program of human relations in industry requires that career-minded technicians who have more than a vicarious interest in the human equation and the basic tenets of the personnel program organize and enforce the latter to the best interests of management and the worker.

Methods of counteracting employee unrest. While it is naïve to expect management to sponsor the cause of the employee at an inordinate cost and possible detriment to the profit system, it is possible to expect big business to take definite steps in the future in improving morale, instilling pride in workmanship and other intangibles of vast psychological importance to the wage earner. Individual workers attach great significance to length of service and the increments accruing from severance

⁵ Morris Viteles, "Wartime Applications of Psychology: Their Value to Industry," *Occupational Psychology*, 20: 1-11, 1946.

pay, retirement plans, sick-leave adjustments, etc.; therefore, the latter plans constitute positive methods of insuring loyal, productive work forces. Detrimental employee emotions and attitudes that culminate in costly labor delays can be channeled into more purposeful thought patterns by skillful supervision and enlightened personnel agencies. The positive emotional adjustment of the employee becomes, of necessity, one of the most important functions of supervision and personnel workers and one of the basic factors in personnel policy planning.

The obligation of management. The installation of "human relations in industry" remains the obligation of management, and to perform the obligation there must be a fusion of industrial psychology and efficiency engineering. Various systems have been evolved to effect the systematic placement, classification, and transfer of employees, but the humanistic study of the emotional and attitudinal adjustment of employees has been sacrificed to the practical demands of production. Trained industrial psychologists are needed to solve the current emergency and replace the typical clerical functions of some personnel activities. Thus, it becomes practically axiomatic that the greater the number of clerical personnel functions within the personnel setup, the greater the need for a revamping of basic personnel policy planning before "human relations in industry" can be achieved.

THE SUPERIMPOSED LEADER

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● Many agencies supplying services in relation to play, recreation, and informal education are characterized by their extensive use of the group work process in working with their constituents. These organizations with membership largely in the youth ages utilize a considerable number of persons who are directly related to groups. To these persons the term *leader* has been applied loosely. This use of the term has tended to becloud the fact that the group itself has a leader of its own choosing, a product of group interaction.

For the purpose of this paper the use of the concept *group* shall be delimited to refer to the primary group, characterized by face-to-face associations which involve sympathy and mutual identifications and from which individuals obtain their basic ideals and standards; the group in which personality development occurs.

The concept of leadership implies that the leader is a person who exerts influence over a number of people, and produces changes in attitudes and in the overt behavior of those led in such a way that they find the views and activities of the leader desirable. The leader is the product of the group, of group life. This concept, then, readily applies to the natural leader of the group, that is, the person who himself is a member of the group and by it selected for leadership.

Once this concept is accepted, it cannot be used at the outset to describe the person who is superimposed upon the group by an outside agency. This does not mean that such a person cannot become the leader of the group to which he has been assigned, but he cannot be considered a leader by the mere act of placing him in charge.

To become a leader a person must fulfill two requisites: (1) He must be recognized by those being led as sufficiently like them not to be considered an outsider, and (2) he must demonstrate in certain ways that he possesses unique characteristics which place him above the group. Or as one sociologist puts it, a leader must have *individuality* and *sociality*. The first refers to those traits which set him off from the others, and the latter is concerned with those behavior traits which identify him with another or others.¹ The superimposed leader may be assumed to possess this latter requisite because of his usually richer background of experience

¹ Emory S. Bogardus, *Leaders and Leadership* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1932), p. 3.

and culture and because of his maturity. His effectiveness is limited, however, to the extent to which he is accepted by the group as sufficiently like them. Thus the second requisite, *sociality*, depends upon the leader's ability to bridge the social distance between himself and his group.

The superimposed leader, then, is not a leader *ipso facto*. One requisite is bestowed upon him by the very nature of his position in the group; the remaining requisite must be won. The practice of a skilled group worker who enlists the aid of the gang, club, or play group in selecting the superimposed leader helps to a great extent in reducing the social distance between this leader and the group and thus increases the chances for effective leadership.

Further, the superimposed leader facilitates the effective discharge of his responsibility by the extent to which he utilizes the leadership channels inherent in the group. Every group has some person or persons to whom the members look for direction. These persons may be the duly elected officers of the club group or the gang leader undesignated by any title. In either case, the superimposed leader does well to recognize quickly the group's natural leader or leaders, and through them begin to realize his objectives for the group and its members. Coupled with the recognition and utilization of the group's natural leadership, the superimposed leader has the responsibility of training this natural leadership.

Effective leadership spelled out has a number of important implications. It implies that the superimposed leader knows the needs of the persons in the group and knows what he wants to have happen in terms of these needs; he has conscious, individualized objectives for the group members. It implies that the superimposed leader has conscious techniques and uses these techniques to help the group members do things for themselves in relation to their ability and readiness rather than in terms of a prescribed program. This involves the recognition of what it is that holds the group together, the use of social control devices, the ability to draw all members of the group into participation, and the ability to motivate the group members. It further implies that the superimposed leader recognizes that every individual is different and has specific needs which will be met through group experience.² It implies that the superimposed leader has the ability to bring group members to a high degree of self-planning and self-direction, of socialized behavior.

In spite of these recognized criteria, the theory that "anyone can lead a group" is still prevalent among practitioners in many organizations. Do

² Harleigh B. Trecker, "Evaluative Criteria for Group Work," *Sociology and Social Research*, 26:427, May-June, 1942.

we pay only lip service to the high standards for leadership which we develop in the classroom and in conferences? We certainly continue to make claims for the "magic power" of the group work process in attaining certain desirable ends. Why is it, then, that we so naïvely assume that anyone, without orientation or training, can effectively guide the group processes toward the development of socialized persons?

The war period resulted in a serious drop in the number of older, presumably more mature leaders recruited by agencies engaged in informal education and recreation activities. In a study³ conducted by the Group Work Division of the California Conference of Social Work in 1943, it was shown that the tendency to use immature boys and girls as a source of group leadership was on the increase. Many of the agencies working with boys were driven to this practice because the colleges were no longer able to supply leaders from their diminishing student ranks. Other agencies had used older boys as a ready supply of leaders even before the war conditions removed the young men from the leadership pool. This practice suggests that some agencies either were not too clear as to the objectives of their group work or were satisfied merely to have "some kind" of leader in charge of their groups.

A recent experience with a number of camp directors would lead the writer to believe that a good deal of rationalization for the use of younger, immature leaders has taken place. A year ago these camp directors were saying in essence that the younger leader was better liked by the campers, entered into their activities with them to a greater degree than did the older leader, was "one of the boys." This past camping season revealed that these same directors had employed older and more mature personnel, and thus contradicted their previous statements. The teen-age counselors were still available but were by-passed in favor of the college student, the returned veteran, the teacher no longer employed in defense industries.

Does this mean that the professional staffs of agencies in the group work and recreation field believe that the older, more mature person makes the better leader but that, not being too sure of what is to be achieved through group processes, they can easily persuade themselves, when older leaders are unavailable, that the teen-age youth can be equally satisfactory as a leader? The evidence would tend to substantiate this supposition. Too few agencies know what they want to achieve.

Before intelligent criteria can be developed for the selection of superimposed leaders, the organization, through its professional staff, must first

³ D. F. DeMarche, *The Effect of War on Volunteer Leadership*, California Conference of Social Work, May, 1943.

clearly define the objectives of its group program and establish qualifications for group leadership. Second, these objectives must be made clear to the leaders. In group work terminology the concept *socialization* appears as the central objective, but in the experience of the writer little effort has been made to define this concept so as to be understandable to the leader. To be sure, the leader is directed to formulate objectives and to individualize these objectives for his "charges." But to what extent is the leader given an understanding as to the nature of these objectives? Does socialization to him mean bringing the members to a higher degree of self-planning and self-direction, having them become more conscious of the welfare of others, associating themselves with the welfare of their group? To achieve such an objective requires a high degree of social maturity upon the part of the leader. If socialized persons are to be the by-product of the processes of interpersonal relations in group work, socialized leaders need to be recruited.

Recognizing that whatever good group work done in the agency is carried on by the person most directly in contact with the group—the superimposed leader—places the responsibility for securing the right leaders squarely up to the agency. Emotional adjustment and maturity, social vision and idealism, dependability and resourcefulness are needed qualifications. The role of the superimposed leader is an important one. The responsibility of any agency in selecting and training him is no less important. "Not just anyone can lead a group."

METHODS OF INFLUENCING PEOPLE

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People have always been engaged in influencing other people, but it is only in recent decades that elaborate and intricate attention has been given to the ways in which people influence other people. Most of these methods represent definite planning whereby a group of people may bring others within the orbit of its influence. The political phrase, *sphere of influence*, which has been used so much in the discussion of international affairs, is a testimony to the way that one group (political in this case) attempts to extend its influence over other groups.

Some of the methods by which people are being influenced today are: (1) publicizing, (2) advertising, (3) indoctrinating, (4) propagandizing, (5) lobbying, (6) disseminating, (7) teaching, and (8) educating. These methods will now be considered briefly and in order.

1. *Publicizing* is the announcement of wares for sale or of services to be rendered. It is telling the public about the aims of a commercial or social agency. It is reporting the good works of a social organization so that it may enjoy or continue to enjoy the good will and the support of the public.

Publicity has the primary purpose of informing and the secondary purpose of justifying; it may be used as a "build-up" for a special interest or as a defense for a strained reputation. The essence of publicity is to create good will, which has been defined as "that attitude upon the part of the public which makes it favorably disposed toward the services or products of a given country."¹

Publicity has emerged in recent years in terms of public relations departments. The functions of these are: (1) to furnish news items regularly to the press, (2) to supply photographic materials to the press, (3) to prepare scripts and put on radio programs, (4) to suggest pageants which can be publicized, (5) to take motion pictures and stills for programs, (6) to prepare the public by notices for changes in procedures or for new departures, (7) to anticipate adverse actions by anyone that would harm the given agency or institution and to offset antagonistic appeals to public opinion.

2. *Advertising* is that form of publicity which is bought and paid for in order to sell goods or services. It is usually signed. It uses the news-

¹ W. Brooke Graves, *Readings in Public Opinion*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1928), p. 575.

papers, the radio, billboards, posters for describing the superior qualities of the wares it announces. It tends to exaggerate and at times to misrepresent grossly. It is one-sided in its presentation and rarely if ever mentions the weaknesses of its wares.

Advertising tends to monopolize newspaper space. It pays about 80 per cent of newspaper costs, but a considerable part of the costs are created by the advertisements themselves. However, the announcement last year that PM with a circulation of 170,000 and no advertisements was not able to keep out of the red indicates to what extent advertisements are an essential part in terms of newspaper economics.

Advertising on the radio has made itself obnoxious. The "commercials" on certain programs have become blatant and at times ridiculous. "One of the most annoying features of network shows is the 'middle commercial.' Just when interest in a broadcast is at its highest pitch, the announcer interrupts with synthetic gaiety to impart some intimate bit of blather about Quick-Lather."² Most American listeners, however, prefer the commercial system to the British government-controlled method.

Billboards, being limited in space and needing to use large pictures and type, fall into the practice of gross exaggeration. They utilize color and sometimes design "to put over" on an unsuspecting public a misrepresentation. Originally, a billboard was sometimes a bulletin board; theaters and circuses were among the first agencies to use them. Later their use in political campaigns grew apace. As far as performing an educational function goes, they undoubtedly would be rated low by most observers.

The poster is used in some countries as an important advertising medium. Since the poster is largely a picture, it attracts the eye. It may be used extensively in time of war as a means of mobilizing people in behalf of a significant wartime activity. Some of these posters appeal to the emotion of hatred and others to loyalty; most are symbolic. After World War I the Soviets made an elaborate use of attractive posters for informing and indoctrinating people.

3. *Indoctrinating* is the presentation of certain ideas in as favorable a light as possible. Ideas of a contradictory nature are suppressed and kept from the people who are being indoctrinated. Indoctrination aims to secure the acceptance of a system of beliefs with as little criticism as possible. Its subjects have no voice in determining its nature and may not be even aware of what is being done to their thinking.

Indoctrination is widely applied to children. In their young and un-

² Jerome H. Spingarn, *Radio Is Yours*, (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1946), p. 5.

critical years most children accept what is told them by their elders in whom they have confidence. Indoctrination of adults also is easy if the adults are especially subject to their feelings, if they are controlled by extreme partisanship, or if they are definitely moved by wishful thinking.

Indoctrination at one time meant simply the spreading of doctrines, that is, religious doctrines. Religious indoctrination runs a gamut. At one pole it is the thoughtful presentation of religious ideas with little or no pressure being used. A person's intelligence is appealed to, and a thoughtful acceptance of religious doctrines is encouraged. At the other pole highly emotional appeals to fear are made and dire threats are heaped upon the souls of those who do not respond. Resort may be had to shouting and to crowd psychology. Some religious leaders allow no questioning of established dogmas.

Indoctrination is used also by political leaders. Here too a gamut is run. In democratic countries, indoctrination ranges all the way from appeals to intelligence to subtle uses of emotionalism, while in totalitarian countries little children are openly indoctrinated in wholesale lots and skeptical adults cannot voice their political doubts without risking a sentence to a concentration camp.

Indoctrination is used in the economic field. Capitalistic and communistic ideologies alike lean heavily on indoctrination. Both resort to indoctrination partly through fear and partly for purposes of expansion.

Indoctrinators in all fields watch with sensitive eyes the textbooks used in the schools. Often they spring into suppressive action on slight or imagined provocation. In their defensive zeal they tear textbooks to pieces, leaving them limp and listless, weak defenders of the *status quo*. Sometimes they see to it that textbooks are made to order. The doctrines are stated more or less openly, and all contradictory facts are omitted or warped to fit the doctrines.

The practice of indoctrination raises the question of ethics. How far is it justifiable to indoctrinate people, and particularly little children, especially if they are indoctrinated to hate and to group-greediness, to consider themselves superior and all others inferior, to kill other human beings in masses? Is indoctrination of the young and pliable justifiable when it leads them later to accept ill-founded systems of economic exploitation?

4. *Propagandizing* is closely related to indoctrinating, and is rapidly coming to the fore as a means of influencing people. It is becoming so subtle that the average person does not recognize it until after he has been hoodwinked and cheated; perhaps not even then.

In totalitarian countries Ministries of Propaganda are created, and given control not only over the press, the radio, the motion pictures, and foreign releases but over the school and the church. In democratic countries special interests have developed high-powered propaganda programs and use artful techniques for getting people to believe what is in line with the promotion of these special interests.

Propaganda is a term that is used in many different senses. Frederick E. Lumley once isolated about thirty different meanings of the concept as it was then being used.³ These from a two-word definition such as "planned suggestion" to complicated descriptions involving one or more different aspects of propaganda, including (1) its origins, (2) the interests involved, (3) the methods employed, (4) the content that is spread about, and (5) the results accruing.

Historically, propaganda began as methods of propagating and spreading ideas. The analogy comes from the botanist's procedure of "propagating plants." In 1622 Pope Gregory XV set up an organization "for the propagation of the faith." Hence, propaganda began as a setting forth of a set of ideas or dogmas in a favorable light. It was unilateral but honest and in earnest.

Propaganda ranges from the innocently unintentional to the deliberately intentional, as Doob has emphasized.⁴ It may spring from such an earnest belief in a given cause that it sees only favorable arguments. Or, if it is aware of negative points it views them as not worth mentioning. Propaganda runs the gamut from naïve misrepresentation to deliberate falsification. In defending special interests or in achieving greedy aims some persons go to diabolical lengths in their destructive propaganda efforts.

Propaganda carries with it the implicit idea that it has done all the thinking that is necessary. It insists that its subjects accept its conclusions blindly. It has a closed mind and gives people conclusions that are not to be questioned. It claims the right to do the thinking of people for them.

Propaganda is a one-sided presentation of an idea or a program. It presents a part of the truth as though it were the whole truth. It colors or suppresses any facts which contradict the proposition that it would put over.

The Institute for Propaganda analysis has set forth seven devices of propaganda.⁵ These are: (1) name calling, (2) use of glittering general-

³ *The Propaganda Menace*, (New York: The Century Co., 1934), p. 44.

⁴ *Propaganda* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935), Ch. VI.

⁵ Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 1:5-7.

ties, (3) testimonials, (4) the transfer device, (5) plain folks device, (6) card stacking, and (7) bandwagon technique.

Several methods of propaganda have been described by Doob.⁶ These may be abbreviated somewhat as follows: (1) making the stimulus-situation stand out by repetition and simplification; (2) revealed, delayed, and concealed suggestion; (3) arousing related interests; (4) securing a desired predisposing integration of attitudes; (5) arousing an auxiliary submissive attitude toward the stimulus situation; (6) using negative suggestion in counterpropaganda; and (7) persuasion.

In an earlier analysis the present writer has outlined fifteen earmarks of propaganda.⁷ (1) Unguarded enthusiasm leads persons to give one-sided presentations of an idea or project. (2) Sentiment easily identifies itself with one or another aspect of life and promotes partisanship. (3) An intolerant air or tone signifies a bold advocate who recognizes no other side to a question than the one he represents. (4) When particulars are generalized upon and one experience or fact is presented as the whole, propaganda is operating. (5) Wholesale condemnation indicates that feelings are in charge of reason and that fairmindedness has been repressed. (6) The use of pressure is an indication that one goal is being sought at the expense of others. (7) Insinuation and indirect suggestions are subtle forms of propaganda. (8) When the sources of information are concealed, propaganda is usually at work. (9) Presenting both sides of a question from one side means that the presentation of one side is not so full and fair as is the presentation of the other. (10) Artistic inconsistency is a mark of propaganda. More than once has a picture of an attractive girl or of beautiful flowers been used to sell an unworthy article or idea. (11) The *non sequitur* argument is often used to put over an idea on a public which does not notice the hidden fallacy. (12) The doctoring or coloring of facts is regularly used by some propagandists. (13) A reputable mouthpiece may be used to support a disreputable idea, for most people forget that an authority in one field is not an authority *ipso facto* in another field of thought or action. (14) The opposition is often put in a compromising position and hence discredited, leaving the propagandist free to proceed with his wares. (15) Censorship is a tool of the propagandist. It is effective in keeping what is detrimental to his cause out of the picture. If his subjects cannot learn the facts, they cannot be critical.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 413-17.

⁷ E. S. Bogardus, "Earmarks of Propaganda," *Sociology and Social Research*, 26:275 ff., January-February, 1942.

Propaganda is judged to be good or bad, depending on whose interest it favors. If it favors your interests, you are likely to call it good; but, if it undermines or destroys your interests, it is considered to be bad. A scientific approach is to judge the unworthiness of propaganda according to its one-sidedness. Instead of calling propaganda good or bad it might be better to refer to it in degrees of an all-sided, objective presentation of a subject. When all sides, all the pros and cons, of a proposal are presented with complete objectivity, then propaganda reaches the zero mark and education the 100 per cent level.

The present situation regarding propaganda constitutes a social problem. Some people are becoming so much aware that propaganda is omni-operative that they are growing skeptical of everything they read or hear.

5. *Lobbying* usually refers to the bringing of pressure to bear by the representatives of special interests upon a legislature or Congress. Originally, lobbyists buttonholed legislators in lobbies after they came out of legislative chambers and presented demands. Since they worked in lobbies, they were called lobbyists. Now they take the legislators to dinner and "confer with them" in hotel rooms.

A certain amount of lobbying is done openly, but apparently an increasing proportion is carried on secretly. This secret nature of lobbying is one of its worst features. Promises made in secret may influence voting in legislative chambers unwholesomely.

Lobbying has now become a business, or perhaps, an underground or pseudo profession. Years ago it was asserted that there were six times as many lawyers in Washington, D.C., representing special interests, as there were members of Congress; that many of these lawyers received far greater salaries than did the Congressmen; and that they were abler and shrewder than the latter. These lobbyists, working in semisecret, have been called the real legislature of the nation.⁸

As long as the lobby is working for special interests that are aligned with the public welfare and do not weaken other welfare interests, it may be viewed in a favorable light. When it is employed by interests that undermine the welfare of a portion of the population, it may be indicted for its harmful practices. Moreover, it verges repeatedly on the use of methods that are fascist and undemocratic. Since it exercises a powerful influence off the floor of open discussion, it by-passes the spirit and intent of democracy.

The urge and swirl of lobbying today is so extensive, so subtle, and so

⁸ Donald Wilhelm, "The Washington Soviets," *The Forum*, 74:743ff.

influential that every interest must resort to lobbying or something like it or else fail to receive a fair hearing. Lobbying by a powerful few puts all nonlobbying interests at a gross disadvantage and defeats democracy, while the ultimate conclusion of the procedure would make lobbying by all interests necessary, with the most financially powerful the most likely to win out.

Lobbying has a long arm. It may utilize what is called mail-order legislation. It may deluge legislators, with 10,000 letters, postcards, and telegrams being sent to each. So skillful has this technique become that a legislator cannot tell whether such a deluge has been instigated by a special interest or represents the normal expression of an awakened public opinion.

6. *Disseminating* is a procedure of spreading or distributing facts freely. The assumption is that facts are spread abroad irrespective of the use that may be made of them. The purpose is that of informing people and of giving them bases for forming intelligent opinions.

Before a child has acquired the elementary use of the tools of reading, he receives through the sense of hearing a great deal of knowledge about the outside world and even of the world inside himself. As soon as the simplest tools of communication, namely, sounds, have meanings for him, he responds to the dissemination of experiences and ideas. When the child adds reading to his repertoire of understanding, a hundred and one avenues of dissemination pour information and misinformation into his receptive mind. As his comprehension develops he becomes subject to dissemination in an ever-widening degree.

Dissemination is wasteful and yet it makes freedom of thought possible and stimulates democratic processes. It promotes the democratic formation of public opinion. In being profligate in her dissemination of ideas a democracy may be assured that, although many ideas will fall on unfertile soil, others will germinate and be nurtured with care and develop into a wholesome public opinion.

7. *Teaching* is a procedure of training individuals to do things, to acquire skills, to become acquainted with culture backgrounds. It is a term derived from the Anglo-Saxon *teacan*, meaning "to show how," and from the Latin *educare*, signifying "to train." It shows each generation how to use the tools and culture patterns that have been developed by preceding generations. It is a procedure for transmitting material and ideational tools, even attitudes.

Teaching easily becomes indoctrination. As long as it remains in the field of skills there is little danger; but when it reaches the realm of ideas,

then, unless the teacher is constantly on guard, it drops into indoctrination. Most teachers have ideologies and frames of reference which they allow to color their teaching. Such a tendency, however, is not inevitable. For example, a wide-awake student reports that he took a course in "Socialism" with Professor —, in which the subject was considered thoroughly, pro and con, and that at the end of the semester none of the members of the class could tell whether the professor was favorable or unfavorable to socialism, so definitely had he kept his personal notions out of the discussions and so objective had he been.

8. *Educating* is used in many senses, but the best of them is suggested by the etymology of the word. It is derived from *educere*, as distinguished from *educare*, and means "to bring forth" or "to draw out." In its most significant meaning it refers, not to pouring truths or untruths into the minds of children, youth, and adults, but to a procedure of stimulating individuals to gather data for themselves, to do reliable research, and to examine these by objectively derived standards. In this sense educating functions, not for the purpose of proving or disproving, but to encourage persons to discover truth, to invent, to be creative.

Educating puts individuals on their own mental resources and draws from them, through the process of sharing of responsibility, their latent possibilities of discovering and creating. It does not lecture. It does not distribute beliefs, but arouses the individual to establish valid grounds for the development of dynamic beliefs of his own. It aids individuals, not to rely on the thinking of others, but to provide themselves with adequate thinking processes for meeting their own life problems and those of others. It is the most important means available for influencing people, for it develops their greatest possibilities of creating new ideas.

RACES AND CULTURE

IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION POLICY. New York: National Committee on Immigration Policy, 1947, pp. 56.

Among the topics discussed in this pamphlet are these: immigration's share in our population growth, the foreign born as part of our population, our population is growing older and will grow smaller, and immigration and population policy. It is contended that the United States will reach a maximum population of 165 millions about 1990, and then the total population will begin to decline. A planned increase in immigration would postpone the decline of population numbers in this country.

THE MAKING OF A SOUTHERNER. By KATHARINE DU PRE LUMPKIN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946, pp. 248.

This is an autobiographical account of a Southern aristocrat, who is only one generation removed from a cotton planter, yet who faces the race problem with objectivity and discernment. Much of the book, however, is a historical résumé of the family of Lumpkins, whose prominence is still felt in the political and judicial circles of Georgia. The author was born and reared in Southern tradition. As she quotes it, she was "Daughter of an eloquent father, reared in a home where the Confederacy is revered as a cause holy and imperishable . . ." One of her most vivid memories and one of the most descriptive parts of her book is a recollection of an early Confederate reunion held in Columbia, South Carolina, when she was but six years old. Her ardor and zeal for the "Lost Cause" even at that early age is understandable in view of her family background. Her "sojourn in the Sand Hills," as she calls it, is the first incident to make her question that ardor and zeal. Following that experience, the incident of "Miss Arthur" made her realize that no longer was "this tabernacle of our sacred racial beliefs untouchable." Although these two experiences awakened skepticism, it was the three Negro students in the seminar at Columbia University that changed her entire outlook. She could now "see some of our most sacred racial 'mores' in this perspective and know that individuals at least could shake off their domination within a relatively short space of time and then glimpse the possibility for a whole group, if circumstances could be made favorable."

This book is worth reading for both its sociological implications and its literary style. The style is characterized in the passage concerning religious beliefs. As she states: "Our theological tenets had sifted as safely into my consciousness as snow floats down on a still winter night and one awakens to find the ground blanketed." One criticism of the book, however, is the note list compiled and placed after the last chapter. This note list refers to the sources of her material, but it is not easy for the reader to trace, since no reference is made to it in the main text.

GLADYS V. BOWMAN

INTO THE MAIN STREAM. A Survey of Race Relations in the South. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON and ASSOCIATES. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. xiv + 355.

The technique in gathering data for this book involved sending out hundreds of letters to all parts of the South and asking for examples of favorable race relations that had occurred recently in any one or more of a variety of fields, such as citizenship, employment, education, housing, health, and religion. The materials so obtained were organized into interesting chapters of occurrences which indicate a degree of progress in the growth of democratic living in the South as far as colored and white people are jointly concerned. These encouraging events are presented against a background of undemocratic relationships. "All the items are set on the credit side of the ledger."

Considerable progress is being made in the practice of citizenship. Negroes are still engaged chiefly in agriculture and domestic service, but "with great difficulty they are winning a place in industry." In education Negroes are kept separate and not equal, although here and there conditions are improving. There is almost no education for mutual understanding by the races. The picture of health education is brighter, for all see how life is interdependent in this connection. Although the white churches have contributed generously to Negro education, yet in regard to the unity of Christians the members of the white churches "have shown little evidence of Christianity." "We do not have Christian churches but white men's churches and Negroes' churches, where fellow Christians are not welcome unless they can qualify on a skin and hair test." The book furnishes a hopeful picture as far as countless fugitive illustrations of good will and just deeds go. These seem to foretell a day of growth in democratic relationships.

E.S.B.

STRUGGLE ON THE VELD. By RODERICK PEATTIE. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1947, pp. ix+264.

The author, a professor of geography at Ohio State University and recent head of the Office of War Information in the Union of South Africa, has written a treatise on social and economic and racial conditions in South Africa that is of real value to sociologists. He reveals special insight concerning the nature of social conflict as found in the struggle on the veld of the millions of Bantu to meet their basic needs of life. He portrays their almost hopeless condition, hemmed in by the rules and regulations of the white man. They are so tied down that they cannot start a revolution and obtain redress for the wrongs done them. The inhumanity of the white man is due to his fear of the potential power of the Bantu if the latter were to become educated and to achieve political freedom and hence control over the white man. Between the white man's fear of the Bantu and the latter's struggle to be free lies the tragedy of South Africa.

A secondary conflict is that between the British and the Afrikanders. These two white groups have different cultural backgrounds, a history of conflict in South Africa, and somewhat different political ideologies. However, they are working out adjustments on the basis of tolerance of each other's language and other important differences. The situation is complicated because each group has its own conflicting elements represented on one hand by the liberals and on the other by the die-hards or reactionaries.

The author brings the struggle on the veld up to the point of adjustment on the basis of extensive improvement of conditions for the Bantu, but—here's the catch—within the framework of segregation imposed by the white man upon the Bantu. This procedure falls short of the educated Bantu's understanding of democracy, and so the struggle on the veld will continue for a long time.

E.S.B.

TIDES FROM THE WEST. By CHIANG MONLIN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947, pp. 272.

Dr. Chiang Monlin's autobiography has been published by the Yale University Press in cooperation with the China Institute of Pacific Relations, of which the author was formerly chairman. Dr. Chiang is at present secretary-general of the Executive Yuan and has been professor of education at the National Peking University, chancellor of the same university for fifteen years, and minister of education in the Chinese government.

His life story is an account of the social and political revolutions which China has been experiencing in the past fifty years. He was born and reared in the family-centered society of Yuyao, Chekiang Province, whose citizens pursued the leisurely life of their ancestors, secure in the knowledge that "Heaven was high above, and the Emperor far away." Like Sun Yat-Sen, whose close friend and helper he became later on, he was nurtured on stories of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion of 1851, and during his boyhood observed at first hand the rice riots which resulted from Western commercial and industrial penetration and attendant breakdown in the old Chinese economy. During his period of study at Chekiang College, his intellectual activities brought him in contact with crosscurrents of contemporary Chinese thought, particularly with the radical ideas of Dr. Sun and his followers who advocated the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and establishment of a republic.

Following his return to China in 1917 from study in America, Dr. Chiang devoted himself to work in the field of education, editing a monthly magazine, *The New Education*, which aimed to "develop individuality, attain social progress, and encourage liberal ideas as against purely traditional thought." It held to Mencius' idea that human nature is good, and that education must therefore mean a proper development of what there is in a child. The publication fitted in well with current Chinese revolutionary thought and led its editor to the chancellorship of Peking University, "whirlpool of intellectual revolt." In 1937, Dr. Chiang was a leader in the herculean task of consolidating universities and moving them inland so that Chinese education could continue during war.

Dr. Chiang has presented an interesting record of China's historic past century, and an evaluation of the meaning of the tides from the West that now lap her shores. With adoption of Western scientific techniques added to her Confucian precepts of proper human relationships and the democratic ideas of Mencius, he believes that China can become a modern democratic state and can develop a new civilization which should contribute generously to world progress and to peace. RUTH A. QUINLAN

WHEN PEOPLES MEET. A Study in Race and Culture Contacts. EDITED BY ALAIN LOCKE and B. J. STERN. Revised Edition. New York: Hinds, Hayden and Eldridge, Inc., 1946, pp. xii+825.

This edition contains eleven new selections and an editorial preface for this section. These materials bring the book up to the close of World War II and definitely increase its value.

The basic contentions of the eighty-five authors and the two editors are far reaching. As a result of the culture contacts of various social groups an interchange of culture takes place and a civilization results. Today there are several of these composite civilizations in the world, and sometime one world-civilization may be built out of the many cultures of today.

When cultures come into contact one becomes dominant and the others subordinate; one becomes a majority group and the others minority groups. A minority group is defined as a social group whose solidarity is primarily determined by external opposition and ostracism. Minority group reactions go through three major stages: first, tentative friendliness; second, inferiority feelings and cynicism; and, third, race consciousness, pride, and even aggression and militancy. Minority groups today find themselves living under three types of situations: (1) colonial imperialism, (2) multinational European states with monoracial ideologies, and (3) American individualism with its segregative methods regarding Indians, Negroes, and Orientals. As the discontent and the disequilibrium of minority groups around the world develop, a profound reconstruction of the social order in the world will take place. This volume is a veritable handbook of cultural contacts and of minority group reactions.

E.S.B.

CASTE IN INDIA, ITS NATURE, FUNCTION, AND ORIGINS. J. H. HUTTON. Cambridge University Press, 1946, pp. 279.

Dr. Hutton, teacher of social anthropology in the University of Cambridge, here offers a brief but valuable conspectus of the various aspects of caste which combines a concern about the question of origins with a readable yet thorough discussion of the place of caste in the social and economic order. Throughout many centuries the system of caste has been a stabilizing factor in Indian life, making it possible for many different racial groups and communities to live together in common political units while retaining their own social systems and customs. It has held Indian society together in the face of military and political disturbances. And Hutton adds that it is doubtful whether without caste "such diverse racial and cultural elements could ever have been combined to the extent to which we find them combined at the present day."

Only against this background "of almost incredible diversity of racial origin and of social custom" can the phenomenon of caste be appreciated and understood.

Hutton places more emphasis on the geographical factors contributing to the rise of caste than do most of the theories concerned with the question of origin. He also recognizes that considerable part must have been played by early religious ideas on food taboos, ancestor worship, *karma*, and reincarnation. The caste of patrilinear and matrilinear cultures also must have contributed to the increasing rigidity of caste, along with the growth of guilds and trade associations. Color prejudice cannot be overlooked entirely. In addition to these and other factors, a prominent part was played by the dominant social groups who had evolved a philosophy of religion "too subtle for the mass of the people," a philosophy which sanctioned a none too subtle kind of exploitation of the depressed economic groups.

Pramatha Nath Bose has said that the caste system has acted essentially to impose the attitude of mind needed to raise men from savagery only to stop them halfway on the road to progress. This freezing of customs—be it in the matter of preparing food or in the building of a house—has produced many of modern India's problems. As a result many of the modern Hindus, including those in the National Congress, have come out in opposition to the entire caste system as it now functions. Whatever its virtues in the past in providing social stability, in giving each man a sense of vocation (*dharma*), its negative features at the present time would seem to predominate. It is in the treatment of the "exterior castes" (i.e., the outcastes)—those groups outside the pale of respectable society—that the working of the caste system is most open to criticism. Hutton points out that the unfortunate position of the outcasts could be remedied without destroying the whole caste system. For, he states, "to destroy the caste system, even if it could be done, might be disastrous to the society which is constructed on its framework." Direct attack might thus promote resistance and discord. What Hutton seems to overlook here is the possibility of prominent leaders in the high castes themselves spearheading the attack on caste in its worst features, thus preventing the even greater discord which may result from allowing the vociferous radicals of the left (some supported from the outside) to be the chief movers in the emerging social revolution.

The book includes an excellent bibliography and glossary of terms, in addition to two appendices on the position of the exterior castes and Hinduism in its relation to primitive religion in India. It is a worthwhile addition to the library shelf.

FLOYD H. ROSS

THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST. An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding. By F. S. C. NORTHROP. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946, pp. xxii+531.

This is a book dealing with seemingly contradictory ideologies, such as the conflicts between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, of Moslems and Hindus in India, of Catholics and Protestants in many countries, of Anglo-Americans and Latin Americans, of American individualism and Soviet collectivism, of East and West, of aesthetics and science. The author holds that as long as these pairs of opposites are in conflict, no social policies, no moral ideals, no religious aspirations can go far in resolving misunderstanding and in preventing wars. Not until the conflicting ideologies in each case are adjusted to each other can social legislation or even morals and religion bring about mutual understanding and peace.

It is argued that the values in each antagonistic component are complementary. The development of an inclusive culture for each case of conflict is needed. For the major conflicts of the world a philosophy of culture is urged and developed. In it the author weaves together, or ties together, complementary factors. Basic is the need to bring together the aesthetic and the scientific components in culture, the indeterminate and the determinate, the cosmic continuum and the daily specific, the eternal impersonal and the finite personal. Individual and national sovereignties and a world sovereignty are all three needed if the freedom of men is to be safeguarded and if at the same time international problems are to be solved.

The values in Mexican culture, culture in the United States and in Britain, in German idealism, and in Russian communism are brought together in a chapter on the meaning of Western civilization. Likewise, Confucian, Taoist, Buddhist, Hindu, Shinto cultures are brought within one focus in the chapter that treats of the meaning of Eastern civilization. But the author needs to elaborate and explain more concretely the process whereby opposite components can be brought into a functioning unity. It is not clear that he is wholly correct in assuming that the opposites spring out of different sources. Perhaps they have always been aspects of the same whole. Another question may be raised: Is there one major system of procedures whereby every pair of conflicting ideologies may be united? And, is it true that in each case of conflict there are only two major ideologies in opposition? No review could possibly do complete justice to this work of outstanding importance.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL THEORY

THE PERSONALITY OF THE PRESCHOOL CHILD: The Child's Search for His Self. By WERNER WOLFF. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1946, pp. xvi+341.

This book is a further exploration and analysis of "experimental depth psychology" as first presented by Dr. Wolff in his 1943 publication *The Expression of Personality*. As the title of his new work indicates, his focus this time is on the preschool child. Mary Fisher Langmuir, chairman of the Department of Child Study, Vassar College, and president of the Child Study Association of America, writes the Foreword and pays tribute to Dr. Wolff's "outstanding contribution toward the creation of a 'depth psychology of childhood.' "

Three sections comprise the body of this book. In Part I, on Observation, the child is seen and discussed in relation to adults. A primary concept which is convincingly developed is that the young child and adult live in different psychic worlds isolated from each other. If we are to understand the child we must explore the hidden forces and motivations of his behavior in *his own world*. Particularly helpful is the chapter on the first characteristics of social life. The influence of parental attitudes on the child's social behavior is effectively developed as is the child's concept of reality. Part I is actually the construction of a point of view or psychological theory with reference to the child's personality and the way it develops. Rich use of illustrative case excerpts strengthens the exposition and lends reality to the theory. Though some will be inclined to doubt both the logic and scientific basis of Dr. Wolff's "depth psychology of childhood" and others may reject it *in toto*, no one can deny the care of documentation and the stimulation of the ideas presented.

Part II is called Experimentation. The reader is given an illuminating review and synthesis of observational and experimental studies made in nursery schools and homes in Germany, Spain, and the United States during the past fifteen years. The main method of study is that of analyzing the child's projections through dreams and graphic presentation. The author rejects the interpretation of psychoanalysis which is based on "the presence of innate symbols or the complicated mechanism of substitutions and repressions." He stresses expression analysis or "the direct interpretation of the expression *within the limits of the child's orbit of experience*." He gives us the concept that "all expressions of the personality by the young child seem to be variations on one theme: the child's search for his self." The child's development of security is given considerable emphasis. Methods for judging expressive behavior are listed as are criteria.

Part III is called Theory. Principles of children's art are discussed in a helpful fashion. The final chapters on child-adult relationships and methods in child psychology are highly stimulating. Every parent, teacher, social worker—in fact, everyone who deals with young children—will find much to agree with and will be helped to articulate his own knowledge, even though he may disagree at certain points. The development of a "dynamic education" as proposed by Dr. Wolff will cause a substantial amount of thought and discussion. The summation of experimental techniques and methods in child psychology will be helpful to all students in this field.

An impressive bibliography of over six hundred items adds to the already established value of this book.

HARLEIGH B. TRECKER

SCIENCE AND FREEDOM. BY LYMAN BRYSON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. xi+191.

The thesis of this book is that the Good Society can be reached through the scientific study of human behavior and the application of scientific knowledge to the management of human affairs. The author applies his hypothesis to one specific social value generally held to be good, namely, freedom. He defines freedom in terms of the conditions in which the creative powers of men, and all other creative factors, can work most effectively. The rest of the book is devoted to means of attaining these conditions. According to Professor Bryson, social change can happen only as the personality pattern of individuals changes—it happens only inside persons. Therefore, successful social engineering depends upon an understanding of the natural facts underlying human behavior, and not upon ethical judgments or any other judgments of preference.

To bring about social change Bryson says it is necessary to change men's minds, and this feat he suggests may be accomplished through the institutions of education. In education he includes training men in the habits by which the social good is enacted, training them in loyalty to the institutions that make the social good possible, and persuading them to the changes that are later seen to be useful.

One of the most interesting passages in the book is the discussion of the "problems of theory" and "the problems of use" in scientific research. In the chapter on "Culture and Social Engineering," the author presents an unusual interpretation of culture.

The book is an expression of faith in the possibility of societal self-direction and a bold and courageous statement of what is prerequisite to telic social action.

ESTHER PENCHEF

INDUSTRY AND SOCIETY. WILLIAM F. WHYTE, Editor. New York:
McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1946, pp. vi+211.

In what ways do the factory and the community mutually influence each other? What are the problems involved in building cooperation within the industrial structure? To answer these questions, involving intensive research in the social organization of industry and industrial society, the Committee on Human Relations in Industry was organized in 1943 at the University of Chicago. Methodologically, the research data were obtained through field observation, interviewing in the factory and the community, and from work diaries recording daily significant events in the work situation. The resultant materials were discussed in a seminar including regular university students, executives and personnel men, and union officials as well as in a lecture series held in 1945. This book is occupied with the task of summarizing some of the major aspects of human relations in industry as disclosed by the research findings.

Materials in the book are captioned under ten headings, several of which are "The Factory in the Community," by W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low; "Function and Pathology of Status Systems in Formal Organizations," by Chester I. Barnard; and "The Basis of Industrial Conflict," by Frederick H. Harbison. The final chapter is given the title of the book and is, in a sense, a summation. Pointing out that the heart of the problem is "the relations of the individuals to one another in the social system," it rightly criticizes management for assuming that the worker is motivated primarily by a desire for material awards. Some comments made here are significant: human motivation as detected by research studies is exceedingly complex; the Western Electric research tests found no relationship between aptitude test scores and production records; where an executive handles his men successfully, in most cases, it is a matter of intuition and unorganized common sense.

Three principal ideas have emerged from the studies. They are (1) the factory system is a status system and this system is closely related to the status system of the community; (2) the factory has a formal organization as well as an informal one, both of which must be adjusted to each other; (3) the "social system of the factory exists in a state of equilibrium when a customary pattern of status and human relations has been built up over a period of time." Among the contributors are Chester I. Barnard, president of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company; Mark Starr, educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; and Professor W. Lloyd Warner, of the University of Chicago; with Professor William F. Whyte acting as editor.

M.J.V.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FRONTIERS OF SOCIETY. By ABRAM KARDINER
with the collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois, and James West.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 475.

The Foreword by Ralph Linton explains the necessity for an integration of the social sciences. The book is devoted to the discussion of techniques by means of which the findings of the various sciences can be "integrated and applied." The common interest of cultural anthropology and of psychology in the "interrelationships of personality and culture" has been developed from different points of view. In this volume the concept of "basic personality type" furnished the key to exploration of common interests. Dr. Linton further explains that "the basic personality type for any society is that personality configuration which is shared by the bulk of society's members as a result of the early experiences which they have in common." This statement does not mean that all personalities are identical but that "the value-attitudes systems" are basically similar, though they may be incorporated in different total individual patterns.

The technique for studying basic personality patterns in different cultures is referred to as that of "psychodynamic analysis," and is "based on Freud's psychodynamics." It is noted that "the sociological implication of this technique has not yet been explored for the simple reason that the technique does not yet describe the social process completely."

In this book concrete studies of the cultures of the Comanche, of the Alorese, and of Plainville, U.S.A., are utilized; and in each instance personality studies (biographies) of members of the respective groups supplement and illustrate the interrelationship of culture and "personality type." The conclusions are related to the interrelationship of personality patterns and group functioning as they are reflected in stability or disorganization. "A stable culture can be defined (in psychological terms) as one in which the integrational systems of the individual are consistent with the role he must subsequently play in society." Disorganization is manifested "in any individual or group which is cut off from the achievement of the approved social goals."

It is stated that culture as a concept is "an operational tool when implemented by the psychological insight into the knowledge that different practices of living are created by different problems of adaptation and that these practices have specific influences on the individual if integrated during the process of growth. This does away with the pseudo-problems of biological as against sociological influence." Again, it is pointed out that basic personality patterns affect types of adaptation for the entire group, for example, to disasters, to enemies, and to new experiences.

B.A.MCC.

SCIENTIFIC MAN VS. POWER POLITICS. BY HANS J. MORGENTHAU.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. x+245.

The belief in science, says the author, is the one intellectual trait which sets our age apart from the preceding periods of history. The influence of the scientific outlook is manifest in public policy, philosophy, morality, art, religious thought, etc. We think in terms of the outgoing eighteenth century, however, while living in terms of the mid-twentieth. Impressed as men are by science, the problems of the social world cannot be solved by the method of the physical sciences. Politics, for example, is an art and not a science, and the problems of power politics are not to be solved by social engineers who would blueprint world peace.

J.E.N.

IN SEARCH OF THE REGIONAL BALANCE OF AMERICA. EDITED
WITH A FOREWORD BY HOWARD W. ODUM AND KATHARINE JOCHER. Chapel
Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945, pp. 162.

This book is in two parts with a Foreword by the joint editors. Part I, also written by the editors, "From Empirical Studies to Regionalism," contains three articles by Dr. Odum: "From Community Studies to Regionalism," "The Way of the South," and "The Regional Quality and Balance of America." Dr. Jocher's three articles include "The Regional Laboratory for Social Research and Planning," "Two Decades of Social Forces," and "Toward Regional Documentation."

Dr. Odum traces the course of the development of regionalisms and folk sociology from community studies of race and folk culture of the early 1900's. There is an excellent analysis of the social ideals incorporated in regionalism, the importance of which (rather than sectionalism) both for the South and for the Nation is emphasized. The conclusion is reached "that the most dynamic problem in postwar America, namely, the achievement of the regional quality and balance of America, is of one part with the search for a better regional balance of people and resources everywhere."

The regional laboratory for social research and planning, the sub-regional laboratory, and the laboratory workshop are described by Dr. Jocher. There follow a brief history of *Social Forces*, an analysis of its scope and the range of interest and subject matter, and a list of contributors from 1922 to 1944.

Part II, "On Regional Analysis and Interpretation," contains ten articles by various outstanding sociologists including Rupert B. Vance, William Fielding Ogburn, Charles S. Johnson, Edith Webb Williams, Edgar T. Thompson, T. J. Woofter, Ruth Landes, T. Lynn Smith,

C. Herman Pritchett, and Elizabeth Green and Craighill Handy. The first eight papers are given over to discussions of various phases of the culture of the South and to planning for the South. The ninth (by C. Herman Pritchett), "Organization for Regional Planning," is a frank presentation of various possibilities and actual achievements. The tenth article (by Elizabeth Green and Craighill Handy) is entitled "Regionally Planning the Far East." An interesting table, "Equivalent Regions," places in parallel columns seven regions in the United States and Greater China. These are each briefly described in terms of four characteristics: geographic, climatic, historic, and functional. A second table, "Equivalent Areas of North and Middle America, and East and Southeast Asia," is accompanied by outline maps. It is pointed out that "China and America have unique and intimately related backgrounds and destinies and owe it to each other and the world to act as partners in the important business of domestic planning and cooperation with other nations and regions."

B.A.MCC.

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD. BY RUTH BENEDICT. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, pp. 316.

This is an account from a cultural anthropologist's viewpoint of the individual and societal development of the Japanese. It was written as an assignment of the Office of War Information in an effort to understand Japanese behavior as completely as possible.

As a result of her detailed studies of past and modern developments in Japan, Miss Benedict attempts rather successfully a sociocultural analysis which makes for understanding and appreciation of a contrasting culture. The high birth rate, the protest suicides, the literature without a happy ending, the public weeping of a defeated baseball team, the vivid contrasts of modern electric machines in flimsy bamboo shacks and union meetings in the Buddhist temple—these and numerous other little-understood aspects of Japanese life are made understandable by this study.

In her conclusions, the author suggests methods of sublimating the historical disciplines of the Japanese and points out the new forces which have been released by military defeat and civilian disillusion. She maintains that the chrysanthemum of personal freedom and the sword of self-responsibility—traditional symbols of Japanese life—have a definite contribution to make to civilization.

A glossary of frequently used Japanese terms and an index are appended.

CARROLL RICHARDSON

MASS PERSUASION. *The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive.* By ROBERT K. MERTON WITH MARJORIE FISKE AND ALBERTA CURTIS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, pp. xiii+210.

War Bond Day, September 21, 1943, for the Columbia Broadcasting Company, was eighteen hours long. Kate Smith, star of radio, pleaded and exhorted at intervals of a minute or two throughout. Result: thirty-nine millions of bond pledges due to mass persuasion. With this specimen as a unit of study for mass persuasion, the investigators undertook to find out something about its structure and dynamics. One hundred detailed interviews with listeners provided basic materials. Seventy-five were purchasers, twenty-five were not. Supplementing data considered were an analysis of the content of the broadcasting and a polling interview with nine hundred seventy-eight persons representing a cross section of Greater New York's population. Some significant findings: what was said and what was avoided by Kate was important; the public images of Kate as a great patriot were suggestible; her pose as a representative of the common people was significant; her sacrifice in performing the eighteen-hour marathon produced favorable sentiments; her utilization of sacred symbols was calculated to identify her with them and ally her with national duties and responsibilities. The final chapter indulges in an enlightening discussion of the moral dilemma presented by the technique of mass persuasion, i.e., What are the effects upon society and the individual of such mass appeals? What are the dangers of utilizing such techniques for antisocial ends? It is unfortunate that the results of the findings have not been summarized in distinctive form. The last chapter suffers from a confusion brought about by a tendency to moralize from the findings.

M.J.V.

PLANIFICACION Y SOCIOGRAFIA. By MIGUEL FIGUEROA ROMAN. Tucumán, Argentina: Instituto de Sociografía, 1946, pp. 201.

Professor Román undertakes an exposition and defense of social-economic planning, whether practiced by the U.S.S.R., Nazi Germany, or the U.S.A., since he regards planning as a tool and not as a political goal. It is therefore good or evil only in terms of the purposes to which it is put. He does, however, believe it is a real threat to democratic development for those Latin-American countries which are still at a low level of political culture, as is the case in the Argentine. Integrated research in "the economic, cultural and moral aspects" of social life is requisite to the development of adequate planning and must be closely correlated with means of popularizing its aims, methods, and possibilities. A re-orientation of university interests will be required in the Argentine if such research is to play its part in a planned economy.

E.F.Y.

POPULATION IN MODERN CHINA. By TA CHEN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. ix+126.

China has never taken a nation-wide census. The total population figures which have been offered are estimates based upon enumeration of individuals in small, scattered areas. Dr. Ta Chen, using direct enumeration and the most efficient methods which he had observed in Europe and the United States, conducted ten experimental censuses in as many regions in China. While his project includes only about three million people, he has provided a framework for a scientific demographic study of the nation.

In this book the findings are carefully presented. They cover such information as the average size of the Chinese family, the unusual distribution of sexes in rural and urban areas, the Chinese birth rate, the infant mortality, age at first marriage, and the occupational distribution. The author has added to the meaningfulness of this data by giving it in its social setting and indicating its social significance.

The last chapter of the book deals with population policy. The conclusions and recommendations of Dr. Chen and the Committee for the Study of Population Policies express a modern point of view and provide a sound foundation for China's first nation-wide census.

ESTHER PENCHEF

AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN ECONOMICS. By VALDEMAR CARLSON. Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1946, pp. xvii+337.

Common sense, a social point of view, and an admirable comprehension of economic theory succeed in making this new and remarkably well-written text in economics a welcome contribution. Professor Carlson wisely starts out by assuming that the subject matter of economics for beginners should furnish a basis for public policy and that it should be presented as part of a larger political and social framework, in this instance, democracy. His organization of the text is most logically conceived. The discussions in the various chapters are ably presented, conducive to further reading, and stimulating for inquiring minds. The author's social point of view with respect to a functioning economy is all too rare in introductory textbooks on economics. Here, it provides author Carlson with an opportunity to define rather well the various social situations under discussion, i.e., "Conflicts between our customary ways of doing things and the imperative of a productive system are certain to arise unless tolerance and resilience prevail among the political, economic, and cultural leaders." The chapters on *Economic Conflicts and Development of Classes, Government and Labor, and Union-Management Co-operation* may be singled out as being especially worth while. M.J.V.

HISTORY IS ON OUR SIDE: A Contribution to Political Religion and Scientific Faith. By JOSEPH NEEDHAM, F.R.S. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, p. 226.

A distinguished Cambridge biologist whose learning extends far beyond the bounds of his particular profession has revised and combined twelve essays, articles, and addresses to form a very interesting book. The catholicity of his interests is seen in the titles of the essays, which include "The Two Faces of Christianity," "Pavlov and Lenin," "The Nazi Attack on International Science," and "Aspects of the World Mind in Time and Space."

These essays represent a broad scientific outlook that is derived from a deep acquaintance with history, philosophy, religion, and politics, as well as the author's own specialty—experimental embryology. Dr. Needham contends that statesmen should be more aware of the findings of science, that the religious world should study contemporary social and political movements, and that scientists should pay attention to human values. The address which gives the book its title is concerned with collectivism and Christianity. Other essays deal with Aldous Huxley's *Grey Eminence*, British university democracy, and the theory of evolution. These thought-provoking essays are testimony to a scholarly and encyclopedic mind. The subtitle well describes the volume as "A Contribution to Political Religion and Scientific Faith."

JOHN E. OWEN

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY. By HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, pp. xiv+646.

In *A History of American Philosophy*, number 18 of the Columbia Studies in American Culture, Professor Schneider of Columbia University has brought rare talent in historical scholarship to the problem of exposing, relating, and interpreting the much-neglected and frequently obscure data of America's intellectual history. By far the most significant work that has been done in this field, Professor Schneider's volume will be indispensable to all who are interested in the development of American culture and mentality. It conceives philosophy in the broad, nonacademic sense and undertakes to describe and interpret it as it has actually lived; in intimate relationship with biography, art, religion, science, economics, and politics in the sociocultural development of the nation.

Professor Schneider has very cautiously and wisely resisted the historian's temptation to overgeneralization. He refuses to find a "native" American philosophical tradition, "a central content, a dominant note, or a moral lesson" revealed in the multitude of facts extricated by him from the total historical scene. Instead, he lays bare the colonial dependency of American ideas on European thought and the eclectic and often con-

fused nature of American systems, while not failing to emphasize the vigorous impression made on borrowed ideas by the new world's spirit of freedom and its genius in practicality. The variegated richness and vitality of the whole intellectual life of the nation as it develops from childhood to maturity are given an articulate expression.

In view of Professor Schneider's special competence in early American thought, many will regret that the treatment of the Colonial period is so highly condensed, and certainly there can be some objection to his neglect of all but the origins of present-century American realism and naturalism on the ground that "the careers of these ideas are still too young to merit biography." But despite these and other possible criticisms the book will be recognized by all as a veritable mine of important and unimportant information.

A History of American Philosophy is not intended for beginners. It frequently presupposes a knowledge of the subject matter and, due primarily to the author's refusal to take liberties with his subject, is quite lacking in the easy unity and continuity that so frequently characterize histories of ideas. It is a case of spade work thoroughly done in a fertile field, but is by no means, as the author himself agrees, to be taken as the final word. At this point it is of interest that the highly significant *Treatise on Language* of Alexander Bryan Johnson, recently resurrected by David Rynin, is apparently omitted both from the text and from the invaluable bibliographies compiled by Dr. Joseph L. Blau. Dr. Blau is also author of the important companion volume, *American Philosophic Addresses, 1700-1900*.

STERLING M. McMURRIN

UNESCO: Its Purpose and Its Philosophy. BY JULIAN HUXLEY. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1947, pp. 62.

In this exceedingly important document, a large number of valuable facts about UNESCO are presented. The author is the director general of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and is perhaps the best authority on the subject of this report. Among the topics treated are these: the aims laid down for UNESCO, a philosophy for UNESCO, the relation of UNESCO to human progress. The section on the program of UNESCO explains how this new world organization will make use of natural science, education, the creative arts, and particularly the social sciences in developing a unified philosophy of life throughout the world. The basic task is "to help the emergence of a single world culture with its own philosophy and background of ideas," to bring individualism and collectivism together, to bring the American way and the Russian way of life into one way. Only by some such reconciliation can a catastrophic world destruction be avoided.

THE REDISCOVERY OF MORALS. BY HENRY C. LINK. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1947, pp. 223.

In attempting to point out the urgent need for the rediscovery of morals, Dr. Link discusses the questions of race and class conflict. His presentation of the problem of race conflict is fairly good. He presents the psychological basis for race conflict, analyzes the facts about race differences, and points the way toward the diminution of race conflict through education and legislation. In addition, he wisely cautions against faith in legislation as a panacea for race conflict and presents a very definite need for a stronger moral foundation for our society.

Unfortunately, the author's consideration of the problem of class conflict is not similarly successful. Part of Dr. Link's difficulty stems from his belief that "The history of the United States, until recently, is the glorious record of triumph of these moral laws (an abbreviation of the Ten Commandments) over economic forces." His second difficulty in appraising class conflict lies in his treating race and class conflict as virtually identical problems. He holds that "the modern doctrine of equality and the common man is essentially the defeatist ideology of the scapegoat." In taking this stand, Dr. Link has failed to reach a common basis for the rediscovery of morals. His concept of morals is dependent on a certain economic structure and a certain political organization. Any deviation from that pattern is a moral retrogression. He considers the Wagner Act of 1935, for example, to have been part of a process by which "hatreds have been systematized, rationalized, and legalized." The Wagner Act may well have had its weaknesses, but it seems rather doubtful that legalizing hatred was one of them. A moral code is best when it is based on the common dignity of man, which, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Link, can be possessed by a Russian living under the concept of democracy which is held by his country, a Briton living under a system of extensive state control and regulation of production, as well as an American who lives under our governmental and economic structure.

JAMES S. ROBERTS

FOR THIS WE FOUGHT. BY STUART CHASE. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1946, pp. 113.

This challenging publication is the sixth and last of a series of reports prepared for the Twentieth Century Fund by Mr. Chase. Many of the difficulties of the postwar period are seen through the realistic eyes of veterans of World War II. No doubt the cost of war can be appreciated partially in terms of 325,000 American dead, a national debt approaching 300 billion dollars, and a society that justified the use of any weapon of war to terminate hostilities. In the closing chapters the great importance

of a workable plan for the international control of atomic energy is emphasized. On the whole, Mr. Chase has written a fascinating essay that deserves a wide reading by Americans, especially veterans.

EDWARD C. McDONAGH
University of Oklahoma

THE SOVIET IMPACT ON THE WESTERN WORLD. By EDWARD HALLETT CARR. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. viii+113.

In a series of essays, characterized by able and distinguished writing, Professor Carr of the University College of Wales, analyzes the political, economic, social, international, and ideological impact of the Soviet Union upon the Western world. He asserts that in its historical setting the Soviet position on democracy is easy to comprehend if it be clearly understood that essentially it involves a challenge to the Western democracies to complete the French revolutionary tradition of democracy as it held until 1848, at which time the *bourgeoisie* betrayed the proletariat. In a 1936 speech by Stalin, the view is taken that in capitalistic countries, democracy is for the strong propertied classes, whereas in the USSR democracy is for the working people, i.e., everyone. This is the political challenge for the West. The economic impact lies in the idea of "planning" developed into action by the Soviet's five-year plans and imitated at various times by many other countries. The social impact has been largely felt in the West by the retreat from *laissez faire*. Says author Carr: "The avowed social purpose of Soviet planning is to improve the lot of the common man, and, in particular, to raise his standard of living." In the field of international relations the influence of Soviet thinking is evident in the drive toward a realistic conception of power. To attempt to give equal voice to nations without power is irrelevant and illogical, and this in part is the driving force of the coalitions now taking place. Ideologically, the principle of the "common man," which has its roots in Christianity, owes its renaissance in the West to Soviet influence. Whatever one may think about the USSR, the arguments advanced by Professor Carr are such that they cannot be ignored. In the sense of culture diffusion, too, the book is significant in that the author traces the origins of the ideas held by the Soviets. Some of these originated in the West, flourished there for a time, languished, and then were revived in Russia. How best may the challenge be met? The answer is that the fate of the Western world will depend upon how well the search succeeds "for new forms of social and economic action in which what is valid in individualist and democratic tradition can be applied to the problems of mass civilization." Those who want to understand what is going on in the world of conflicting ideas between East and West should read this book.

M.J.V.

HUMAN FACTORS IN MANAGEMENT. SCHUYLER DEAN HOSLETT, Editor.
Parkville, Missouri: Parkville College Press, 1946, pp. 322.

Editor Hoslett, interested in a better understanding of the human problems of organizations, offers here a well-planned symposium designed to reveal the results of some significant research and reflection on the subject occurring within the past decade. Pursuing a very logical order, the first part is devoted to four good articles on the nature and conditions of leadership and to three on the training of leaders in human relations. Part Two contributes several articles on human relations and four studies involving counseling services. The third and final part is entitled "Critiques" and serves to introduce the variant viewpoints of psychologist Gordon W. Allport, anthropologist Eliot D. Chapple, and sociologist Conrad M. Arensberg on the subject of human relations in general. One of the most interesting and revealing of the contributions is contained in an article by Joseph M. Goldsen and Lillian Low, who have succeeded in transcribing "the verbal behavior of two executives in a state of 'shock' during the crisis of unionization in their plant." They utilize the subtitle "A Case Study of Personal Immaturity" for their little dramatic sketch. The compilation of these writings makes for a nicely integrated exploration of the many problems involved in working out programs fostering better human relationships between executives and workers.

M.J.V.

THE SOURCE OF HUMAN GOOD. BY HENRY N. WIEMAN. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. 312.

In this volume Dr. Wieman returns to a theme first undertaken over thirty years ago when he was a candidate for the doctor's degree at Harvard, working on the problem of value. An alternative title for the book, he tells us, might have been "What Is Value? Naturalism Answers." The position he develops is that value is identified with the total complex context; value is to be interpreted in terms of events, their qualities and relations. No recourse is made to alleged transcendental grounds or causes or purposes. This is purposely to ignore the transcendental affirmation in the Jewish-Christian tradition of a creative God who not only works in history but resides beyond history. "The only creative God we recognize is the creative event itself . . . The only forms of value we recognize are produced by the creative event." It is Dr. Wieman's fundamental thesis that there is a creative process working in our midst which transforms the human mind and the world relative to the human mind. In this way qualitative meaning (i.e., created good)

is increased. "Qualitative meaning is that connection between events whereby present happenings enable me to feel not only the quality intrinsic to the events that are related to them."

From the general considerations of the first part of the book, Dr. Wieman turns to a consideration of specific kinds of value—beauty, truth, knowledge, morals, religion. In each chapter Dr. Wieman's serious concern for the social context of human existence is quite apparent. He is always concerned with an interpretation of value that will be most practically useful in dealing with the issues determining human destiny for good or ill. Of religious knowledge he says: "Any claim to truth beyond the evidence is not a mark of sanctity or virtue or humility. Rather, it displays either the arrogance of faith or an irresponsible childishness." He applies three tests of truth—observation, agreement among observers, and coherence. Perhaps nowhere more than in the field of religion and morals are we in need of knowledge, for there is the great lag. "Every day that increases the power of man makes that power increasingly dangerous if it is not accompanied by a moral and religious recognition that the specific outcome of creativity must not be predetermined and controlled" to selfish materialistic ends.

Dr. Wieman has written a careful study that deserves the attention of sociologists as well as the philosophers of religion, even though the language is largely that of the latter.

FLOYD H. ROSS

CAN SCIENCE SAVE US? BY GEORGE A. LUNDBERG. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947, pp. vi+122.

The answer to the question posed by Professor Lundberg is "Probably yes—if we will let it." The kind of science to which he refers is, of course, not physical science but a naturalistic social science. Those who are familiar with his earlier writings, particularly *The Foundations of Sociology*, will not be surprised at the position expounded here.

The volume is made up of a series of lectures presented at the University of Washington in 1945, and parts of the material have appeared in *Harper's* and *The Scientific Monthly*. The argument is careful and cogent and carries a great deal of conviction. It is written with more grace and skill than is usually shown in sociological writings, and the book will be read with profit by many persons—one hopes particularly by those physical and biological scientists who ordinarily shun books by sociologists.

In the course of his essay Lundberg surveys a whole series of problems

of critical importance: the alleged subjectivity of the social sciences; the problems of quantification; the reductionist fallacy; the archetypal techniques of social control; the problem of the scientist as a citizen; the question of competition between social science and the humanities, social science and religion; the problem of value, or better, the question of valuation.

He proposes the teaching of a generalized scientific method, education in masteries of symbols, and a rejection of the gadgety, regressive techniques of education such as those afforded in the study of "great books."

There is no reason why this book should not be made supplementary reading for introductory courses in sociology, even if the courses are taught by persons who deviate from Lundberg's position of what is usually designated "positivism." Indeed it seems that such people are almost obliged to include reading of this sort.

LEONARD BLOOM

University of California at Los Angeles

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, Volume I, Number I. Boston:
World Peace Foundation, 1947, pp. 278.

This new periodical will be published four times annually, with full issues in February, June, and September, and a complete index supplement in November. *International Organization* is supported solely by the World Peace Foundation, a nonprofit organization which was founded in 1910 by Edwin Ginn, the educational publisher, for the purpose of promoting peace, justice, and good will among nations.

Grotius was among the first to point out the advantage, if not the necessity, of cooperation and organization among the nations of the world based on some form of international law. Although international organization is not a new concept, the creation of most of the international organizations in existence has occurred in our time. It is the expressed policy of this periodical to disseminate accurate information and informed comment on the manifold problems of international organization. Future issues in 1947 will contain, in addition to the extensive summaries of the work of international organizations, articles on the International Refugee Organization, Problems of the Specialized Agencies, the Role of the Small Powers in the United Nations, Lessons of the League of Nations, the International Court of Justice, and similar topics. A comprehensive bibliography is included in each quarterly.

CLYDE B. VEDDER

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS. By J. O. HERTZLER. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1946, pp. x+346.

This volume is a revision and expansion of Professor Hertzler's *Social Institutions*, first published in 1929. While the first five chapters of this work serve well as a preliminary introduction to social theory, the remaining thirteen chapters set forth the central and distinctive functions of institutions, their peculiar social organization, and the problem of social change and social values. Unfortunately, the objectivity of the book has necessarily precluded a realistic discussion of some of the problems confronting social institutions. Today, the very names of some social institutions have become almost synonymous with social disorganization. Some instructors offering the course Social Institutions may blend the supercharged challenges found in Harry Elmer Barnes' *Social Institutions* with the planned objectivity and descriptive statements of institutional functions found in the text under review. Professor Hertzler is to be commended for writing a scholarly piece of work, and one that could serve also as a supplementary text in Social Organization.

EDWARD C. McDONAGH
University of Oklahoma

DAS ARBEITSETHOS DES DEUTSCHEN PROTESTANTISMUS. By KLARA VONTOBEL. Bern: A. Francke, 1946, pp. 162.

The author attempts to trace the changes in the German Protestant Ethos of Work (*Arbeitsethos*) under the influence of theology and church, during the periods of Orthodoxy, Pietism, and the Age of Rationalism (*Aufklaerung*).

To Catholicism the *Vita Passiva* was of greater value for a good Christian life than the *Vita Activa*. According to Thomas Aquinas contemplation was the highest form of activity. Luther, however, maintained that before God all work was equal. The German-Lutheran Protestantism developed its own concept of Ethos of Work. It was fear of sin, fear of the world, fear of the present and future which drove the German Protestant to work; thus the pious German Protestant worked because he was unable to rest. To change from one category of work into another meant to oppose God's will, because it was through Him that he was a manual or mental worker.

Only with the dawn of the Age of Rationalism did the German Protestant begin to recognize his own creative power. Three periods during which the German Ethos of Work developed are indicated: (1) Work to please God, (2) work for the sake of Man, (3) work for

the sake of Work. Roughly speaking, the first and second periods were dominated by the spirit of Orthodoxy and Pietism; the second, continuing into the third, by the Age of Rationalism.

There were similarities between the English-Calvinistic and the German-Lutheran concepts of Ethos of Work, but the latter now climaxed in a glorification of man and his work, and the former in the praise of wealth and success.

The nineteenth century eliminated nearly all religious influence upon work but left unsolved many of the social problems which theology and church had created. One of these is the discrimination made between manual and mental work; another, the employer-employee tensions still dealt with on the basis of lord and serf rather than on the basis of two equals.

The author believes that the logical development toward a new Ethos of Work should be a unification of service to God and service to man, based upon the "socialistic-cooperative principles under evangelical responsibility."

RICHARD O. NAHRENDORF

SOCIAL WELFARE

THE SMALL COMMUNITY LOOKS AHEAD. BY WAYLAND J. HAYES
with the collaboration of ANTHONY NETBOY. New York: Harcourt,
Brace and Co., 1947, pp. 276.

Dr. Hayes carefully explains that "this book is not a manual." It is a study of the process of community life, concerned with the nature, growth, and change in communities. Case studies of specific communities are utilized. While many of these are descriptive of towns in the South, the author believes that the structures and processes may be "applicable generally." Much emphasis is put upon the importance of leadership and the methods of "creative leadership." Planning is discussed in relation to various communities in the Tennessee Valley.

In the last chapter, "Small Communities—Whither Bound?" attention is called to the fact that most small communities need "constructive intervention from outside in order to rise from their lethargy and grasp the opportunities at hand for uplifting their civic and social existence . . ." Community organization and wise planning are two valuable techniques. The outside agencies which impinge on the communities—economic organizations, government, religious and welfare bodies, educational agencies—all need to understand the community and the significance of their relation to it. Their approach may well be concerned less with "preservation of systems" and "more with the coherence and stability of society."

The well-selected bibliography is classified by subject. The appendices give practical help to community leaders. Appendix A presents a "Score Card for Self-Evaluation of Communities"; Appendix B gives the "Community Section of Survey Form Used in Rural Communities of Tennessee Valley"; Appendix C suggests "Ways of Maintaining Continuous Action toward the Achievement of Goals Decided upon by Communities"; and Appendix D, "Some Products of One Workshop," includes projects, programs, and a form for a cumulative survey. The author's own evaluation is both objective and cogent: "The book deals in the main with small community life throughout the United States and local materials are utilized only as illustrative and corroborative data."

B.A.MCC.

SMALL COMMUNITIES IN ACTION. BY JEAN AND JESS OGDEN. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1946, pp. 244.

The authors of the book are associates in adult education, University of Virginia, Extension Division. In the Preface the authors explain that the book contains "thirty-four stories telling how communities have helped themselves." Over a period of four years the authors attempted to discover "experimental approaches to democratic living." To qualify for selection, the program included opportunity for local participation in both planning and executing the plans by the persons directly affected. The concept of community as utilized is variously defined and ranges from half a dozen neighbors to a school district, a town or a county, or even, as in two stories, to an entire state.

There are five parts, each dealing with some aspect of community life such as "Making a Better Living," "Planning for Health and Social Well-Being," "Increasing Civic Awareness," "Living a More Abundant Life," and "Implementing Community Programs." The concluding section of the last part, "In Conclusion. The Community That Can Do It," sets up criteria for an ideal community. "That community is good which strives to make each individual master of his own circumstance and environment rather than to train him to fit into an established pattern." "That community is good which makes possible a more abundant life in its broadest interpretation." "To the extent that it limits potentialities of any—especially the least—it is not in the democratic way of life."

The stories are interesting and readable. The bibliography is decidedly limited. The value of the book, especially for University classes studying the community, would have been enhanced by the inclusion of stories of communities in other sections of the United States. The authors express

the belief that both the problems and programs described are typical of communities in all sections of the country. They also state that they believe the "ideals involved are . . . fundamental to democracy and, therefore, universal in their application to American communities." These stories "furnish firsthand proof of the ability of people living at the grass roots to develop new patterns of cooperation, new ways of bettering their community life."

B.A.MCC.

PSYCHIATRIC INTERVIEWS WITH CHILDREN. By HELEN LELAND WITMER. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. vii+443.

This book is addressed to student and practicing child psychiatrists. The first three chapters, written by Dr. Witmer, covering only forty-five pages, are a great deal more than "an introduction to the cases." Chapter I gives a brief but pertinent history of important influences upon the child guidance movement, bringing out clearly its nature and purpose. The second chapter deals with the important problem of diagnosis, which is often vaguely discussed in this area of child psychiatry, presenting careful thought on the way the terms *neurosis* and *neurotic*—and, I would add, *nonneurotic*—are used in this book. Would that such care in definition, description, and logic were seen more often! This chapter, in its general discussion, could be of great value to social workers whose responsibilities lie directly with children. The chapter offers much in understanding differences in the nature of children's problems.

In studying the ten case records of Part II, there are many opportunities to ponder over the third chapter's discussion of the therapeutic relationship, and to respect the deep responsibility in the use of a relationship for therapeutic aims.

The case records—alive, dramatic, and so moving to one who has worked with emotionally disturbed children—offer a great deal for learning more about psychiatric interviews with children. They are especially helpful because of the lengthy footnotes, in which each therapist presents the theoretical considerations that lay behind his activity. With all the controversy in written work and on conference platform concerning various schools of dynamic psychiatry, it is important that the reader try to put himself into the frame of reference of the therapist to get the most from these cases. In view of this controversy, it is interesting to see how many similarities there are. These similarities seem to the reviewer to be in the area of essential aspects of the *therapeutic situation*, and not in the area of therapeutic method, resting upon theoretical conceptions.

ROSE GREEN

THE UNITED NATIONS AT WORK: BASIC DOCUMENTS. Boston:
World Peace Foundation, 1947, pp. 147.

This publication contains the basic documents that involve the formation and early functioning of the United Nations. It begins with the Trusteeship Agreement for the Cameroons as approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations (December 13, 1946). The Covenant of the League of Nations is included for comparative purposes. Study groups interested in current international relations will find this collection of fifteen international papers invaluable.

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND FREE ENTERPRISE. By JOHN H. G. PIERSON.
Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1947, pp. vii+173.

This book consists of articles and papers presented by the author before public meetings at various times since 1942. Some repetition of thinking may therefore be expected.

The two fundamentals of a full employment program are a monetary-fiscal policy able to keep up effective demand for commodities and services and a monopoly and competition policy that orients itself to technological realities. Incentives must be placed on private business so that it will expand its activities. The government must underwrite total consumer spending at a level high enough to provide a market for a full-employment volume of output minus certain necessary expenditures. Public investment should first be planned without regard for employment considerations, but a set of projects should be kept in readiness to supply public jobs if needed. Such services should, however, be kept within narrow limits.

When consumer spending is too low, government can help by suspending or reducing taxes. Fundamental causes, such as excessive inequality of wealth, monopolistic practices, and other factors responsible for insecurity must also be met. An expanded foreign trade will also prove helpful. The federal budget might be allowed to incur deficits to establish full employment, but policies should regularly aim to make deficits unnecessary.

The author makes the suggestions that: (1) the President annually set an employment and unemployment standard for the year; (2) Congress instruct the President to require such public works and services as may be needed; (3) some public agency be designated to watch the results and to recommend such expansion or contraction of these services as may seem advisable; (4) a continuous study of our business and labor situations be made. Needed recommendations should then be sent to the President for further action.

G.B.M.

AGING SUCCESSFULLY. BY GEORGE LAWTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, pp. 266.

The author presents a broad and realistic view of the aging process based upon extensive research and personal counseling experience with the aged. Dr. Lawton, who is an outstanding authority in this field, presents ways that people can help themselves to achieve "Aging Successfully." The greater portion of the book is devoted to discussion of the "most effective ways of making typical adjustments which are called for in later maturity." Many illustrations from actual cases are cited to show how adjustments may take place and more constructive lives result. Re-education and rehabilitation are recommended. Preparation in youth for later maturity is strongly advised; Johnny's behavior at six may have some bearing on his behavior at sixty.

The author believes that older people can retain mental and emotional flexibility and that they have an active place in society. The main problem faced by the aged is not age itself, but life-long personality maladjustments, the way society treats aging, and, finally, the almost total lack of facilities and resources for utilizing what older people have to offer.

A whole chapter is devoted to the Bill of Rights for Old Age, a presentation by the aged themselves of their problems and a plea to society to "try to understand." The book vividly portrays the earnest struggle of the aged for their rightful place in society. The whole treatise reflects the author's broad view of the personality and the importance of building workable patterns in early life.

ELIZABETH H. GRIFFIN

DELINQUENT GIRLS IN COURT. A Study of the Wayward Minor Court of New York. BY PAUL W. TAPPAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. ix+265.

The book is a realistic study of the judicial, administrative, and social processes of the Wayward Minor Court in New York City, an experimental tribunal for adolescent girls, now known officially as Girl's Term. The author considers the legal process in terms of social objectives, the institutions of the court in transition, the facilities available to the court and the limitations of the statute under which it operates, the confusion of purposes, and then gives a cross-sectional view of the court in operation. The needs for change are pointed out and suggestions are given for the administrative reorganization of the court system.

It is suggested that the combined approaches of law and sociology (sociolegal) might contribute to a better understanding of the court, its

development and functional operation. Their mutual services are pointed out throughout the discussions and analyses of the operations of the court. Courts are social institutions and the court process is a form of social behavior. Their importance in individual and group control is evident. Sociologists and psychologists can be of service in the understanding and clarification of the mechanics of the courtroom; the legal authorities (lawyers) contribute their skills and special frames of reference. "A combination of legal and social sense is needed to analyze, appraise, and guide the growth of institutions that are both legal and social." M.H.N.

THE PEOPLE LOOK AT RADIO. By PAUL F. LAZARSFELD AND HARRY FIELD.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press,
1946, pp. ix+158.

The National Association of Broadcasters commissioned The National Opinion Research Center of Denver University to conduct a national study of adults' attitudes toward, and opinions and information regarding, radio broadcasting. Later the Bureau of Applied Social Science of Columbia University was asked to analyze and interpret the data. Altogether, thirty questions were asked, together with data regarding the interviewees, a summary of which, with appropriate tables, is given in the main body of the report. Appendices are added to give more detailed information regarding the 2,571 persons interviewed (and an expanded sample of 672 people living in the Mountain and Pacific areas), their listening habits, the questions asked, and the statistical summaries of the answers.

Space does not permit a detailed documentation of the replies to the questions, but several generalizations regarding them may be made. The interviewees rated radio higher than four other types of community institutions (churches, schools, newspapers, and local government), from the point of view of the job that they are doing. The more a person listens to broadcasts, the more likely he or she is to rate the radio as doing an excellent job. The more critical people are of other institutions, the more critical they are of radio broadcasts. The majority of people are critical of some phase of radio. Annoyances and dissatisfactions vary considerably, but advertising is the chief source of irritation. Few criticisms are volunteered against news programs. Comedy and variety shows have wide appeals, and music has about as large an appeal as news. Dramatic programs, especially daytime serials, which are listened to largely by women, are popular. Reactions to radio programs are equated with regard to such matters as listeners' interests, degree of education of listeners, and the opinions they hold regarding government vs. private control of industries.

M.H.N.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE MODERN FACTORY. *The Strike: A Social Analysis.* By W. LLOYD WARNER AND J. O. LOW. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947, pp. xvi+245.

This is the fourth volume of the "Yankee City Series," a series which will become complete with the advent of two more volumes, and whose aim has been to deal with the significant aspects of the social life of a community. In this volume, "Yankee City" is caught and socially diagnosed during the period of a great strike in the days of the depression. This New England community with its primary industrial occupation, shoe manufacturing, is first revealed as a community with a record of but few and unsuccessful strikes, dominated by an assured conservative upper class, and whose middle class has a "Protestant ethic." Scattered through the Yankee upper, middle, and lower classes are descendants of Irish; and on the lower levels are French Canadians, Jews, Poles, and other foreigners. When the depression of the 1930's hit the community the usual unemployment crisis struck, and, with it, the attempts to alleviate it. Fifteen hundred workers in the seven large shoe manufactories went on strike for a month, organized and joined an industrial union, and emerged victorious for the first time.

The investigators have analyzed the impact of the strike upon the community and upon the social status of the several social classes affected by the strike. The results of their work have been projected so as to fit the larger community framework of the nation. Whether or not there is real validity to this procedure only time can report accurately. On the surface, however, the conclusions seem more than probable. Among these are the following: the conflict between managers and workers in the United States is causing intense and widespread anxiety; the opposing forces are the most intensely organized movements in contemporary America; the hopes for workers to rise in the skill hierarchy are decreasing; the unions have become social institutions for providing workers with outlets for an increasing number of interests; worker-mobility is being thwarted in the factory; the upper middle class is an unhappy group, what with being beset economically by taxation; the men of top management now feel their loss of power and freedom of action; significant modifications of economic power will occur, but the basic hierarchical social order will remain with the social distance between top and bottom increasing. The volume is a neat and trim illustration of a bit of modern social investigation and analysis. The problem remains of whether or not the predictions made on the score of the analysis will eventuate into actualities.

M.J.V.

FREEDOM OF THE MOVIES. By RUTH A. INGLIS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. vi+241.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press, which sponsored this study, was created to consider the "freedom, functions, and responsibilities of the major agencies of mass communication in our time: newspapers, radio, motion pictures, news-gathering media, magazines, books." This special report on movies was prepared by Miss Ruth A. Inglis of the Commission staff. The description of the role of the screen as a mature organ of mass communication and a concise history of motion pictures, together with pertinent economic aspects (business) of motion picture production, provide the background for the analysis of the attempts made to control movies. The author presents the historical development of controls, beginning with the early conflicting social trends, the weaknesses of the industry, and the municipal, state, federal, and foreign legislative measures designed to regulate in one way or another the production, distribution, and the showing of films. Activities of the National Board of Review (now called New Movies), the National Association of the Motion Picture Industry, and the evolution of self-regulation are reviewed. The need for some control is recognized, but there is the question of method, whether by censorship or by self-regulation. Raising the level of public taste is an effective though slow process.

M.H.N.

THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF AVIATION. By WILLIAM F. OGBURN. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, pp. xxxv+775.

Aviation has a very important place in modern society. The author indicates over thirty uses and social effects of aviation. The book is unique in that "it is an attempt to foresee the changes that are coming because of aviation." The influences of technology on social changes, the significance of a new transportation system in the development of civilization, and the problems involved in predicting the social effects of an invention are discussed in the introductory section. The uses of aviation include the transportation of passengers and goods, carrying the mail, flying services to small places, and international travel. These require technological advance, landing places, and air routes. The areas of social effects include the changes in the population, the family, cities, religion, health, recreation, crime, education, railroads, ocean shipping, manufacturing, marketing, mining, real estate, newspapers, agriculture and forestry, government and public administration, and international relations and policies. Each chapter is full of pertinent illustrative material, the

observable effects of air transportation. Even a cursory reading of the book gives the reader an enlightening impression of the significance of aviation. Ogburn is one of our foremost authorities on the social effects of inventions, and this book shows clearly the far-reaching significance of an invention in transportation.

M.H.N.

SOCIAL FICTION

KONA. BY MARJORIE SINCLAIR. New York: The John Day Company, 1947, pp. 248.

In this new story of life in Hawaii an old problem comes to the fore, namely, the respective roles of heredity and environment in the development and conflicts of human nature. Martha, who is a part-native Hawaiian girl from the Kona Coast of the Big Island marries Winslow, a son of the Wendell family of Honolulu. Her carefree, out-of-door ways appeal to him, and he calls her his little Kona sweetheart. He immediately contradicts Martha's desire for freedom by insisting that she fit into his family's ways and do what their social group expect of her. She responds to Winslow's wishes but still longs for the freedom of Kona. The inner conflict bursts into the open on occasion and creates great unhappiness in Martha's life. She finally makes an adjustment when their daughter Laurie grows up and marries a Kona-Coast, part-Hawaiian boy—much against her father's wishes. Martha's desire for freedom from the binding conventionalities of the social existence of the Wendells finds satisfaction in her daughter's happiness in living the Kona way of life. Winslow ultimately accepts his daughter's Kona ways, for he and Martha have a son who in every way follows in his father's footsteps.

The novel emphasizes the popular misconceptions about "blood will tell," even though science finds no hereditary significance in blood but points to the genes as the carriers of hereditary potentialities. The environmental role of infant and childhood influences is not brought directly into the picture in the case of either Martha or Winslow. The author does a splendid piece of work, however, in depicting the inner conflict in Martha between the accustomed freedom in her parental home and the binding role of conventions in her husband's family connections, and in showing how she finally makes a partially satisfactory adjustment.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL DRAMA

JOAN OF LORRAINE. A Play in Two Acts. By MAXWELL ANDERSON.
Washington: Anderson House, 1946, pp. 138.

In philosophic mood, Maxwell Anderson turns to the moving story of Joan and finds a modern message carrying both spiritual and social content. Inquiry into the meaning of life and the worth and dignity of the individual has been undertaken by thoughtful men a great deal since the close of the war and its disappointing aftermath. In an age which has witnessed the apparent triumph of the machine over its human inventors and the temporary victory of a willful organization called the state over its creators, the quest for the truth of being must be conducted rather quickly for time is running out. Man's faith in himself is in for a crucial and critical test. Dramatist Anderson finds at least one answer for bewildered man in the dauntless and matchless faith of Joan, who, facing death in the abhorrent flames, tells her inquisitors: "In all the world there is no authority for anyone save his own soul."

Unlike Shaw's Saint Joan, this play is given a modern setting, the empty stage of a theatre where actors are in the midst of rehearsing a play with Joan as its central figure. The leading lady, Mary Grey, played in New York by Joan-inspired Ingrid Bergman, finds fault with the playwright's conception of the character of Joan. Was Joan forced to compromise with corruption in order to win her point? Was her faith in the voices so holy that its sincere strength could accomplish miracles by and through itself? The actress holds out for this point of view until she finds that the answer lies in the sublimity of Joan's faith which no one through any artifice could adulterate. With renewed vigor, she proceeds to rehearse the play and recites her lines as if they were emanating from the real Joan. "Our life is all we have, and we live it as we believe in living it, and then it's gone. But to surrender what you are, and live without belief—that's more terrible than dying young." Flames have little meaning for such vitalism.

Maxwell Anderson's theatre is one of purpose. Brieux used to reiterate that had he lived in the seventeenth century he would have been a preacher instead of a dramatist. Anderson, similarly-minded perhaps, writes in his play a few lines for the director, who is asked what his religion is, and replies simply, "I guess democracy. I believe in democracy and the theatre is a temple of democracy. A democratic society needs a church without a creed—where anybody is allowed to talk as long as he can hold an audience—and that's what the theatre is." Joan of Lorraine is as challenging to read as the faith of Joan herself was challenging to an age of doubt.

M.J.V.

INDEX TO VOLUME 31

**Sociology and Social
Research
1946-47**



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INDEX TO VOLUME 31
SOCILOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

Bickham, Martin, Adjustment Problems of American Youth in Military Service	30
Bogardus, Emory S., The Long Trail of Cooperation.....	54
_____, Clarence Marsh Case: 1874-1946.....	138
_____, Price Control and Social Control.....	297
_____, The Japanese Return to the West Coast.....	226
_____, The Seminar as a Research Institution.....	389
_____, Methods of Influencing People.....	458
Bossard, James H. S., and Eleanor S. Boll, School Situations in Behavior Studies: An Autobiographical Analysis.....	423
Brooks, Lee M., Some Postwar Challenges to Sociology.....	268
Carlton, Frank T., Social Goals in Peacetime.....	255
Day, George M., Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.....	369
DeMarche, David F., The Superimposed Leader.....	454
Dinkel, Robert M., The Influence of Nursery Literature on Child Development.....	285
Faris, Ellsworth, Some Results of Frustration.....	87
Feria, R. T., War and the Status of Filipino Immigrants.....	48
Gillette, J. M., On Breaking the Human Life Cycle.....	93
Harmsworth, Harry C., Primary Group Relationships in Modern Society.....	291
Hatt, Paul, Stereotypes and Minority Group Conflict.....	110
Hollingshead, A. B., A Re-examination of Ecological Theory.....	194
Hudson, R. Lofton, The Social Context of Religion.....	43
Jameson, Samuel H., Measurability of Social Interaction.....	12
Jenson, Howard E., Development of the Social Thought of Charles Abram Ellwood.....	341
Lamson, Herbert D., Evaluation of Sociology Teaching.....	429

Lantz, Herman, Neuropsychiatric Casualties from Rural Areas during World War II.....	446
Le Coq, J. P., Dynamic Social Forces of Literature.....	117
McClenahan, Bessie A., Interrelated Patterns of Community and Personality.....	205
McDonagh, Edward C., Adjustment Problems and Characteristics of University Veterans.....	220
Mayer, Frederick, World Problems and Humanism.....	377
Meadows, Paul, Town and Country in Revolution.....	273
Mihanovich, Clement S., The Sociology of Leopold von Wiese.....	171
Mukerjee, Radhakamal, The Sociology of Values.....	101
Nordskog, John E., Cultural Lag and World Organization.....	21
Penchef, Esther, The Writings of Clarence Marsh Case.....	188
Porterfield, Austin L., The Church and Social Well-Being.....	213
Quinn, James A., and Gustav G. Carlson, Earle Edward Eubank—Sociologist.....	352
Redmon, Edward J., The Human Element in Industry.....	450
Shoben, Edward J., Jr., Sociology and General Semantics.....	37
Smith, Philip M., Control of Behavior on the Small College Campus	132
Steiner, Jesse F., Social Change in Japan.....	3
Tucker, William P., The Farmers Union Cooperatives.....	435
Vedder, Clyde B., Achievements of Consumer Cooperation.....	127
Vincent, Melvin J., Tributes to Clarence Marsh Case.....	181
_____, Labor under Review: January, 1946-December, 1946..	360
Wallace, Karl M., Achievement Factors in Utah.....	279
Walter, Paul A. F., Jr., A Philosophy for Sociologists.....	262
Zeleny, Leslie D., The Place of Sociology in Teacher Education....	382

Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL



Articles in Forthcoming Issues . . .

September-October, 1947, and later

Social Changes in China.....	Theodore and Wen-hui Chen
Solidarity and the United Nations.....	John E. Nordskog
Approach to Social Technology.....	David Dingilian
Folkways of Regional Societies.....	James T. Laing
Whither Educational Sociology?.....	H. C. Brierley
Sociology and the Social Gospel.....	William C. Smith
Bell-Town Fights Back.....	Glen E. Carlson
Delinquency Patterns and Pachuco Gangs.....	S. Keating and T. Garcia
Statistical Logic in Social Research.....	Ralph H. Turner
Juvenile Delinquency in the Philippines.....	Benicio T. Catapusán
The Coterie.....	Charles B. Spaulding
Toward a "Principles of Sociology".....	Chester M. Stephenson
Class Stratification in Industry.....	Edward J. Redmon
Problems of Migrant Boys.....	Wayne R. Davidson
Social Uses of Sociodrama.....	Bert Hansen
Teen Centers and the Adult Community.....	Louise D. Yuill
Restrictive Covenants.....	James S. Roberts
Adjustment Problems in a Concentration Camp....	Elizabeth H. Vaughan
Structure of the Japanese Family.....	J. Masuoka
Approach to Social Psychology.....	Mapheus Smith

Articles in the Preceding Issue . . .

May-June, 1947

Social Thought of Charles A. Ellwood.....	HOWARD E. BENSON
Earle Edward Eubank— Sociologist.....	JAMES A. QUINN and GUSTAV G. CARLSON
Labor under Review: 1946.....	MELVIN J. VINCENT
Economic and Social Council.....	GEORGE M. DAY
World Problems and Humanism.....	FREDERICK MAYER
Sociology in Teacher Education.....	LESLIE D. ZELENÝ
The Seminar as a Research Institution.....	EMORY S. BOGARDUS

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